SCOTTISH ROYAL MARRIAGES AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES FROM DAVID I TO ALEXANDER III

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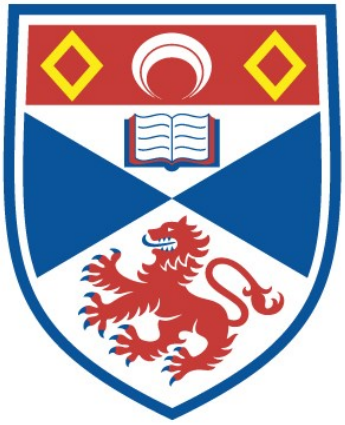
A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of BPhil
at the
University of St Andrews



1979

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews by Malcolm R. Pressgrove.

May, 1979.

ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of five chapters embodying research on Scottish royal marriages and marriage alliances from the marriage of King David I and Matilda de Senlis in 1113 or 1114 to the marriage of King Alexander III to Yolande of Dreux in 1285.

Chapter One, 'The Beginning of the Norman Tide', discusses the marriage of David to Matilda and the marriage of Henry, David's son, to Ada de Warenne. The chapter pays particular attention to the contributions these marriages made to the Normanisation of Scotland and the relationship of the Scottish king to the king of England concerning the lands acquired by David through his marriage to Matilda.

Chapter Two, 'In Pursuit of Honour', describes the efforts by David's grandsons, Malcolm IV and William, to preserve Scottish honour against the great King Henry II of England. The chapter focuses on Malcolm's use of continental marriage alliances for his sisters and William's frustrated and diverse attempts to acquire and hold lands which the Scottish kings long coveted.

Chapter Three, 'Foreign Intrigues and the Beginning of the Golden Age,' continues the examination of Scotland's continental marriage connections while describing the series of events leading up to the marriages of Alexander II's sisters. In particular, this chapter attempts to show how Alexander II used continental marriage alliances to strengthen himself and preserve his kingdom in the face of adversity.

The fourth chapter, 'Wyne, Wax, Gamyn, and Gle', is an attempt

to sort out the confusing events of Alexander III's minority and show how Henry III used the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Alexander III to project himself into Scottish affairs.

The fifth and final chapter, 'From Gold into Lead', is a study of the marriages of Margaret, daughter of Alexander III, to King Eric II of Norway; Alexander, the heir apparent, to Marguerite, the daughter of the count of Flanders; and Alexander III's second marriage to Yolande of Dreux. This chapter shows how dramatically the fortunes of a prosperous, blossoming medieval kingdom were changed in a series of unlooked-for tragedies.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the present work, which is a record of research performed by myself, was conducted under the supervision of Professor G.W. S. Barrow, Professor of Scottish History at the University of St. Andrews. I was admitted to the University of St. Andrews as a research student for the Bachelor of Philosophy degree in October, 1978.

I also declare that this thesis embodies work which is being made public for the first time, and which has not been previously accepted for any degree.

Malcolm R. Pressgrove.

CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations concerning the submission of a B. Phil thesis have been fulfilled by Mr. Malcolm R. Pressgrove.

SUPERVISOR.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful for the help I have received from many people in the preparation of this work. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor G.W. S. Barrow, for his inspiration, both personally and through his unrivaled books on Scottish history. I am grateful to Professor Barrow and Professor D.E.R. Watt for giving me access to some extremely valuable and very interesting notes. I also extend my sincere thanks to Mr. and Mrs. J.L. Hunter Scott of St. Andrews for their help and unfailing hospitality. I gratefully acknowledge the bounty of the Rotary Foundation of Rotary International for making my whole stay in the United Kingdom possible. Finally, I offer my profound thanks to the countless people all over Scotland who have made the past year one of the most significant experiences of my life.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Anderson, Early Sources. Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500-1286, ed. A.O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922).

Anderson, Scottish Annals,. Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500-1286, ed. A.O. Anderson (London, 1908).

APS The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, edd. T. Thomson and G. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).

Barrow, Robert Bruce. G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1976).

BIHR Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

Cal. Docs. Scot. Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain (vols. i, ii, and iv, Edinburgh, 1881-8).

Cal, Papal Letters. Calender of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Scotland and Ireland: Papal Letters, edd. W.H. Bliss and others (London, 1893-).

Chron. Melrose. Chronica de Mailros (Bannatyne Club, 1835).

Chron. Picts-Scots. Chronicles of the Picts; Chronicles of the Scots. ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867).

Dickinson, et. al., Source Book. William C. Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson, and Isabel A. Milne, A Source Book of Scottish History, (2nd edn, vols. i and ii, London, 1958).

Dunbar, Scottish Kings. A.H. Dunbar, Scottish Kings: a Revised Chronology of Scottish History 1005-1625) (2nd edn. Edinburgh, 1906).

Dunfermline Registrum. Registrum de Dunfermelyn (Bannatyne Club, 1842).

EHR English Historical Review

EYC Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. C.T. Clay (vols iv, v, and viii, Yorkshire Archeological Society, 1835-49).

Eyton, Itinerary. Robert W. Eyton, Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II (New York, 1974).

Farrer, Itinerary. William Farrer, An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First (Oxford, 1919).

Foedera. Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica, ed. T. Rymer (Record Commission Edition, vol. i, parts I and II, London, 1816-69).

Hailes, Annals. Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm IV to the Accession of the House of Stewart (3rd Edn, Edinburgh, 1819).

Lawrie, Annals. Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1910).

Lawrie, Charters. Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153, ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905).

Maxwell, Early Chronicles. Sir Herbert Maxwell, The Early Chronicles relating to Scotland (Glasgow, 1912).

Moore, Lands. Margaret Moore, The Lands of the Scottish Kings in England (London, 1915).

PSAS Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland

Royal Letters, Henry III. Royal and Other Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III, ed. Walter Waddington Shirley (Rolls Series, vol. ii, London, 1866).

RRS The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots 1153-65 (Edinburgh, 1960) and The Acts of William I, King of Scots (Edinburgh, 1971), Regesta Regum Scottorum, I and II, ed. G.W.S. Barrow.

Scoular, Acts of Alexander II. Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, ed. James M. Scoular (Edinburgh, 1959).

SHR Scottish Historical Review.

Simpson, Acts of Alexander III. Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, the Guardians, and John, ed. Grant G. Simpson (Edinburgh, 1960).

Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations. Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328: some selected documents ed. E.L.G. Stones (Edinburgh, 1965).

Teulet, Inventaire. Inventaire chronologique des documents relatifs a l'histoire d'Ecosse (Abbotsford Club, 1839).

Theiner, Monumenta. Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864).

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

INTRODUCTION

The theme of this paper is an attempt to show how the institution of marriage was used to help mold Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Scottish royal marriages from David I to Alexander III reveal a desire on the part of the Scottish royal house to (1) help preserve an inheritance or honour, or (2) assert independence and put forth a Scottish identity. Examples of the former would most certainly be the marriage of Henry, Earl of Huntingdon and son of David I, to Ada, daughter of William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, in 1139; the marriage of King Alexander II to Joan of England in 1221; and the marriage of Alexander III to Margaret, daughter of Henry III of England, in 1251. Examples of the latter type of marriage, some of which seem to be almost defiant gestures of independence, may be seen in the marriage of Malcolm's IV's sisters, Margaret and Ada, to the duke of Brittany and count of Holland respectively; the seemingly hastily arranged proposal to marry a sister of Alexander II to Theobald IV, Count of Champagne, in 1219; and the union of Alexander II and his second bride, Marie de Couci, in 1239.

Here I attempt to deal with the reasons for these royal marriages, actual and proposed, within the context of a theme of inheritance, identity, and independence - three ideals which every nation desires to preserve for itself and its posterity against the destructive forces which threaten all emergent societies.

The Beginning of the Norman Tide

If we study the early English chroniclers closely, we find that the early Canmore reliance on the English court is not only implied, it is a fact. The Scottish succession struggle which followed the death of Malcolm Canmore in 1093 provided a new framework for Norman influence north of the Cheviots. Norman aid was reciprocated by the influx of Norman settlers into Lothian and Strathclyde,[1] and in succeeding years mailed knights and square towers found new abodes north of the Forth.

The reliance and dependence of the Scottish Court on the English court was seen in the attendance of David, son of Malcolm Canmore, in the curia of Henry I of England. David, having been thoroughly anglicised (perhaps 'Normanised' would be a more accurate term) during his residence in England, found high favour with the most notable of the English chroniclers - William of Malmesbury, who described him as having 'rubbed off all the rust of Scottish barbarity;'[2] Ailred of Rievaulx, who became a close friend of both David and his son Henry; Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Howden, William of Newburgh, and Richard of Hexham.[3] David trained with the young Normans of the English household, was knighted by Henry I, and soon became one of Henry's familiares.[4]

David's brother Alexander I, King of Scots, had married, in 1107, Sybilla, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. Late in 1113

(1) Warren, Henry II, 174-5

(2) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 157.

(3) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 144-5.

(4) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 155-6.

or early in 1114 King Henry gave to David in marriage Matilda de Senlis,[5] a woman whose heritage and descent embodied the best traditions of England both before and after the conquest. This marriage was to prove to be the most significant marriage in Scottish history; henceforth, there was no stopping the flow of the Norman tide into Scotland.[6] The marriage of David and Matilda is just as important as Ritchie's assertion, albeit valid, that 'in the Normanisation of Scotland the central fact is that the Conqueror's son married Malcolm Canmore's daughter.'[7]

David's bride was the widow of Simon de Senlis, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. Since Simon's death Matilda had been in the custody of King Henry. David, obviously recognising the value of the inheritance Matilda would carry, asked the King to grant him the countess in marriage. Henry, on the arguments of Maud, his wife and David's sister, agreed, recognising that David would succeed Alexander as king of Scotland and that the marriage would be an insurance policy for peace in the northern part of his realm. The Countess Matilda, her lands, and her children passed to the custody of David,[8] who through this marriage was to commit succeeding Scottish kings to a relationship with the English crown that became one of the most closely argued themes in medieval history.

Matilda's parents were Judith, the niece of the Conqueror, and Waltheof, son of Siward, a powerful Northumbrian earl of pre-conquest England. A discussion of Matilda's parents' descent is necessary here, I believe, to show the importance of David's 1113-4 acquisition,

(5) Ibid. (6) Anderson, Early Sources, ii,145-9.

(7) Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, xiv and 106.

(8) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 145-9 .

as well as to set the stage for a discussion of how this acquisition is stitched into our theme of identity, inheritance, and independence. The manner in which the earldom of Northampton and the Honour of Huntingdon fit into the picture will receive a fuller discussion. But the marriage of David and Matilda also revived the Scottish monarchs' hereditary claim to Northumbria and strengthened their claim to Cumbria, that western appanage stretching from the Solway to the Rere Cross at Stainmore. [9]

After the Battle of Hastings, the Conqueror gave the earldom of Northampton to Waltheof, chief among the native Anglo-Saxon lords and one of the few natives in the Conqueror's trust. [10] Waltheof, however, seems to have had doubts about his role in the future of Norman England, for in 1069 he joined Malcolm Canmore and King Sweyn of Denmark in espousing Eadgar the Atheling's claim to the English throne. [11] In that year a Danish fleet of 240 ships, according to the Winchester chronicler's account, entered the Humber, sacked York, and inflicted hundreds of Norman casualties in a general rising in Yorkshire. [12] King William, with the remarkable mobility that was standard in Norman military practice, hurried north to quell the disturbance. In the face of the tremendous Norman rally Waltheof gave way and made his peace with William in January, 1070. [13]

The Conqueror seems to have taken pains to keep Waltheof in his good graces. The reconciliation called for Waltheof to receive in

(9) Anderson, 'Anglo-Scottish relations from Constantine II to William,' SHR, xlii (1963), 14.

(10) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 32.

(11) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 129-30.

(12) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 40.

(13) Ibid., 32-3.

marriage William's niece, Judith, the daughter of Lambert, Count of Lens, and Adele, William's sister. With the bride, William conferred upon Waltheof all the liberties pertaining to the Honour of Huntingdon. In the celebration of the nuptials, moreover, Waltheof conferred upon Judith in the name of dowry (nomine dotis) all his lands from the River Trent southward. [14] Finally, William restored the newly-reconciled Waltheof to his earldom and his father's earldom of Northumberland. [15] The reconciliation, then, was a display of great magnanimity on the part of the warlike Norman king toward the native earl and his treachery.

Waltheof, however, seems to have been a slow learner. Only about three years after his marriage to Judith he was a nervous spider spinning another web of conspiracy. Under the cover of the celebration of the marriage of the earl of Norfolk to a sister of Roger, Earl of Hereford, at Norwich in 1075, a plot was hatched against William, who at the time was in Normandy. Whether Waltheof was one of the main instigators in the plot is unknown; he was certainly in the wrong place at the wrong time, for he became involved. The planned rebellion was ill-fated, and by the time William returned from Normandy his agents in England had the situation well in hand. There was little the unfortunate Waltheof could do beyond repenting, confessing to Lanfranc, and surrendering himself to the Conqueror. The king was once again reluctant to take punitive

(14) Ibid., 33.

(15) Symeon of Durham, ii, 199 and 384.

measures. To justly punish a man for a second act of treachery was one thing, but to execute a native English earl was another. After much hesitation on William's part, Waltheof was beheaded on 31 May, 1076 on St. Giles Hill near Winchester.[16]

In the years between the marriage of Judith and Waltheof and the tragedy of 1075-6, the union had been a prosperous one in that Judith conceived with astonishing regularity. She produced three co-heiresses. In this discussion we are concerned with only one of these girls - Matilda, the eldest. At the time of Waltheof's execution, the Honour of Huntingdon, which William had bestowed on Waltheof with Judith,[17] reverted back to the crown, Judith then received the Honour of Huntingdon from William, and she is recorded in the Domesday Book to have held many midland English estates, which passed on her death to Matilda, her eldest daughter.[18]

Waltheof's execution did not end the Conqueror's problems. He still had a young widowed niece on his hands, as well as her children. Since Judith held a large portion of the lands of the kingdom, there was no shortage of suitors.[19] William tried to marry her to Simon de Senlis, but Judith, it appears, would have nothing to do with him. Finally, it was decided that Simon would marry not the widowed Judith but her twelve-year-old daughter Matilda.[20] Simon de Senlis is said to have been a Norman who came to England in the reign of William Rufus. Certainly he was in Williams Rufus' service

(16) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 40.
(17) Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 408.
(18) Complete Peerage, vi, 640.
(19) Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 408.
(20) Ibid., 139.

in Normandy in 1098 in actions against Louis. He witnessed Henry I's Charter of Liberties in 1100, and he built the castle of Northampton. After his marriage to Matilda he founded the Priory of St. Andrews in the town of Northampton, making it dependent on the Cluniac house of La Charite-sur-Loire. The foundation of this priory could have been in the time of Rufus as well, but it was most certainly before 1108, when he and his wife Matilda granted an ample charter to it. [21]

The marriage took place about 1090. Orderic Vitalis says that Simon received Northampton and the Honour of Huntingdon with the title of earl before his marriage to Matilda. Anderson, however, has noted that this statement was probably made ex parte in an attempt to prove that the Honour of Huntingdon had not been Matilda's dowry, but ought to have been included in the inheritance of Simon's heirs. This point is very important and must be kept in mind, for afterwards the Honour of Huntingdon was possessed by the kings of Scotland on quite the opposite assumption that it was her dowry in her second marriage as well. [22] Lawrie also notes these discrepancies, saying that while both Northampton and Huntingdon comprised great lands, it is doubtful whether there were two separate and distinct earldoms. He also notes that Simon de Senlis 'is said to have been created earl of Northampton about 1080' (or about ten years prior to his marriage with Matilda), and that the earldom was possessed by his heirs until the death of Simon the third Earl in 1184. From his study of the evidence, Lawrie surmises that during the

(21) Complete Peerage, vi, 640-1.

(22) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 148-9; '(Matilda) was given in marriage by the same king (Henry I) to David, the king of Scotland; the earldom of Huntingdon being given to him, under the name of dowry'.

minority of Simon the second Earl the estates were possessed by David of Scotland, in right of Matilda and as stepfather of Simon. When Simon the second Earl came of age he was recognised as Earl of Northampton; by then or perhaps before then, the estates were divided. A part of this division was the Honour of Huntingdon, which was possessed for a time by David, and, later, by his son Henry. [23]

William of Malmesbury seems to imply that David did not receive the title of earl until his marriage to Matilda.[24] Regardless of exactly when he received the title, David, after 1114, was one of the most landed men in Britain. Even before his remarkable acquisition of some of the finest land in midland England, [25] he was a man of substance and independence in Scotland. On the death of Eadgar in 1107, David had managed to obtain such dominion over the southern part of Scotland that he was styled 'prince of the region of Cumbria'.[26] He began to colonise Cumbria and Lothian with Norman settlers and with Norman aid.[27] The marriage simply meant that whereas before the Normans coming into Scotland had been a trickle, now there was a flood of Normans. [28] Further, by settling his essentially French lieges from the midland shires in Scotland, David was creating a basis for the type of Scoto-Norman society that was to become deeply involved in the Scottish experience. [29] David did not begin this infusion of

(23) Lawrie, Annals, 37.
(24) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 166, and Scottish Annals, 157.
(25) RRS, I, 99-100; Foedera, i, I, 48; Warren, Henry II, 177.
(26) Lawrie, Charters, No.50, 'Cumbrensis regionis princeps.'; and Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 407 - 8, indicates that 'the decisive part which David undoubtedly took in reconstituting the diocese of Glasgow indicates at least some independence, and possession of wid powers'. Alexander seems to have given his brother a fairly free hand in the south and west.
(27) Warren, Henry II, 177.
(28) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 134
(29) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 579.

Frenchmen into Scotland; we must constantly remind ourselves, in the excitement of examining the records and chronicles of the period connecting the man with the movement, that he was, to be sure, the major agent in the Norman tide. The process had begun earlier. For example, shortly after David's accession in 1124, he was called to settle a dispute between the Celtic clergy of St. Serfs Priory in Loch Leven and a knight named Robert of Burgundy, who, apparently, already held land in the area of west Fife. It is not unreasonable to assume that Robert of Burgundy's estate was a creation of a knight's fee by Alexander or possibly Eadgar. [30] David styled himself 'David comes' in his charters before 1124 and 'David Dei gratia rex Scottorum' in his charters after he became king. [31] It should be pointed out, however, that in his charters before 1124, few of which survive, he styled himself comes without designation of place. [32] Even more interesting is the fact that the three Scottish kings who held the Honour of Huntingdon in the twelfth century never used the title of earl (comes) while they were kings.[33] That the character of this Honour and the rest of the king's lands was essentially French is seen in the racial addresses of the king's charters. As Professor Barrow notes, 'The king's French lieges are never omitted ..... Presumably Franci embraced most continental immigrants including Bretons, Flemings, and Normans, as well as English of Norman descent.'[34] So remarkable was the presence of Frenchmen in the northern kingdom,

(30) Barrow, 'The beginnings of feudalism in Scotland', BIHR, xxix (1956), 2.

(31) Lawrie, Charters, No.35; RRS, I, 155 and No.37; Warren, Henry II, 177.

(32) Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 129 and 407.

(33) RRS, I, 99.

(34) Ibid., 74.

and such was their standing with the king, that an anonymous thirteenth century chronicler was compelled to write,

> 'the modern kings of Scotland count themselves as Frenchmen in race, manners, language, and culture; they keep only Frenchmen in their household and following and have reduced the Scots to utter servitude.' [35]

To say that the Norman tide of the twelfth century inundated Celtic Scotland would be reasonable; to say that this tide washed Celtic Scotland away altogether would be utter falsehood. More accurately, and as Sir Maurice Powicke has noted, there was a fusion of societies involved in the transformation.[36] 'Scot or Pict, Breton or Galwegian, Saxon, Dane, Norman, or Fleming, when he accepted a charter of his lands, the king's vassal was for the future undistinguishable in respect of his origins, so far as the law was concerned. It was thus also that the kingdom was gradually formed in the framework of a Norman society.' [37] Whereas in the previous century Queen Margaret's Normanising policy had been unpopular, and Duncan, Malcolm Canmore's heir by Ingibiorg, had been received as heir only on the condition that he should not introduce English and French into the land, [38] this time there was no stopping them.

The prominent feudal tenants of Matilda's Honour - families with names such as Moreville, Soules, Lindsay, Somerville, and Brus [39] found in David's noble marriage a ready and convenient vehicle for northward mobility. Robert de Brus was already lord of Guisborough,

(35) Quoted, Ibid.,II; 5, Lawrie, Annals, 387.
(36) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 579.
(37) J.H. Stevenson, 'The Scottish peerage,' SHR, ii (1905), 3-4.
(38) A.O. Anderson, 'Anglo-Scottish relations from Constantine II to William,' SHR, xlii (1963), 12 - 3.
(39) Barrow, Feudal Britain, 135.

Skelton, and Cleveland in Yorkshire when in 1124 David granted him the broad vale of Annan in Dumfries-shire, thus paving the way for the dramatic role of the Bruce family in the Scottish theatre. Similarly, Hugh de Moreville, a lifelong friend and familiar of David, most likely came from a Northamptonshire family.[40] He witnessed many of David's charters and received grants of land between Gala and Leader in Berwickshire, as well as Cunningham in Ayrshire.[41] Hugh also received the constableship, and his lands in the Honour of Huntingdon which he held in demesne [42] made him one of David I's most important nobles. When Hugh died in 1162, [43] his son Richard assumed the constableship of Scotland, which became hereditary. David Olifard, who later helped David I escape from the ignominious defeat and rout at Winchester, was a tenant of the Scottish king in Sawtry in the Honour of Hungtindon; he received lands in Scotland also. [44] Robert Foliot came from a prominent Huntingdon family and was almost certainly David's steward before he became king of Scotland. When David, as Earl, gave an estate in Tottenham to Roger the Archdeacon he specified that Roger need not give hospitality to anyone except Robert Foliot and his retinue. Like Hugh de Moreville, Robert was important enough a personage to have witnessed charters of both David I and Malcolm IV. [45] Ranulf de Soules received Liddesdale; Robert Avenel received Eskdale; and the Breton Walter Fitz Alan received Renfrew. [46]

(40) Lawrie, Annals, 69.
(41) Barrow, Feudal Britain, 142.
(42) Moore, Lands, 31.
(43) Lawrie, Annals, 69; Chron Melrose, 78.
(44) RRS, I, 100-1, and No.305.
(45) Ibid., Nos. 7, 102, 132, 133, 148, 151; Lawrie, Charters, No.53.
(46) Barrow, Feudal Britain, 142.

Through the efforts of David in planting settlers from the domains of his wife, the colonisation of Frenchmen in Scotland was on the Norman model. When the Conqueror came to England, he gave fiefs of varying sizes to his chief men, assigning to each an assessment for service in war corresponding roughly with the size of the fief.[47] David I did this as well, but whether subinfeudation took place on as great a scale as it did in England is debatable. In exercising his suzerainty in the midlands, David undoubtedly encountered the increasing subinfeudation of his neighbours. Indeed, at the death of Henry I in 1135, many English barons had enfeoffed as many (or more) knights as they owed. Facts regarding knight-service in Scotland before the middle of the twelfth century are few, and Robert de Brus' speech to David before the Battle of the Standard, as described by Ailred of Rievaulx, is the first significant reference to the knightly vassals of David and evidence of military feudalism in Scotland. [48] We do know that the men he enfeoffed were almost all newcomers to Scotland. To the substantial Northumbrian aristocracy in Tweeddale, Lothian, and Teviotdale he added the Normans from his midland estates as well as Frenchmen from afar. [49] The one exception to this pattern was a grant of land by David to Duncan, the first Earl of Fife, in return for knight-service. The importance of this grant is that it is the earliest known enfeoffment of a native Scottish lord. [50] Grants of landed property in return for

(47) Sydney Painter, 'The family and the feudal system in twelfth-century England', Speculum, xxxv (1960), 9.
(48) Barrow, 'The beginnings of feudalism in Scotland,' BIHR, xxix (1956), 2.
(49) Ibid., 3.
(50) Ibid., 4.

non-military service were not nearly as common as grants which created knights' fees. Most of the earldoms formed a notable exception, [51] but the Earl of Fife was already a knight-service tenant of the Scottish crown.[52] To sum up, however, that many barons moved from sprawling midland earldoms to Lothian, Cumbria, and Dumfries-shire, and that the terms upon which they settled included knight-service, and finally, that this enfeoffment had taken place north of the Forth and included a native Scottish Jord implies that Scotland in the reign of David I was beginning to be unified 'by the application of feudal ideas' [53] - Norman feudal ideas.

As will be remembered, the land which William the Conqueror had bestowed upon Judith in 1076 following the execution of Waltheof [54] passed to David through Matilda. But just what was the Honour of Huntingdon? As an estate it consisted of lands in at least ten different shires (Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Oxford, Buckingham, and Middlesex);[55] it was a feudal entity with its own administration, and its chief officer was the steward. The stewardship was not heritable in a sense of primogeniture; it was given to the head of a group of prominent families holding knights' fees of the Honour. [56] The rank and title of earl were probably given to David by Henry I at the time of his marriage to Matilda. As mentioned before, we do not know for sure if a distinction was made between the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon (Lawrie states that it is doubtful whether they were con-

(51) RRS, I, No.63.
(52) Barrow, 'The beginnings of feudalism in Scotland,' BIHR, xxix (1956), 26.
(53) Barrow, Feudal Britain, 17. Professor Barrow notes in 'The earls of Fife in the twelfth century,' PSAS, lxxxvii (1952-3), 54-5, that the enfeoffment of the earl of Fife 'deserves at least as much attention from historians' as the grant to Robert de Brus of Annandale.
(54) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 148.
(55) RRS, I, 99.
(56) Ibid.,100 and No.7

sidered separate and distinct). While the lord of the shires comprising the Honour of Huntingdon ranked as an earl, there seems to have been no move to assign to him a permanent territorial title. In his charters before 1124, as noted before, David appeared as comes, but without a territorial designation. While Henry, his son, occasionally styled himself comes Northumbr', he never used a territorial designation in any of his midland charters. [57] Midland acts of the king bore royal seals. [58] Besides the estates of the ten midland shires, the Honour of Huntingdon also comprised a soken of the city of London. This was undoubtedly a franchise the lord of the Honour enjoyed.[59]

In the reign of Malcolm IV were issued six charters relating to the Honour in which the purpose was to see that the beneficiary was able to enjoy the right or rights bestowed by an earlier donation, and at least three of these involved bequests by David.[60] The Scottish kings beginning with David I were very much interested in the state of affairs in their midland earldoms. The fact that David was now the greatest baron in England meant that he spent much time in the Honour of Huntingdon, particularly at Yardley Hastings. Besides the normal business of exercising suzerainty over the earldom, there

(57) Ibid., 99.
(58) Ibid.,
(59) Ibid., No.205; 'M. Rex Scott'. Omnibus probis hominibus suis de honore Huntend.' necnon et hominibus suis de Socna de Londiniis. salutem.'
(60) Ibid., 67 and Nos. 149, 151, 153, 202, 203, 211.

was much pleasure to be had there. The vast tracts of wood provided an ideal preserve for the ferae naturae -- the boar, the deer, the fox, and the hare. No medieval baron in Britain was immune from the temptations of the chase, and David surely did his share. When he was in the midlands for hunting much of his time was spent in his hunting domain of Yardley Chase.[61]

On the other hand, when there was business to be done, the Scottish kings, in their capacity as lords of the Honour of Huntingdon, left no doubt that they were in control of their domains in England, even where religion was concerned. Everyone knows that David was associated with a great religious impetus in Scotland, but one of his first acts after he acquired the Honour of Huntingdon was to confirm to the Priory of St. Andrews, Northampton, founded by his wife's first husband, all that it held of his fee on the day on which he came to the Honour,[62] a grant carefully observed and confirmed again by King Malcolm IV. Even the English records of the period, most notably the one surviving Pipe Roll from the reign of Henry I,[63] in addition to the information we can collect from the English chroniclers, attest to the activity of the Scottish lords of the Honour of Huntingdon in the twelfth century. Professor Barrow notes that 'the surviving charters and writs issued by the members of the Scottish royal house in their capacity of lords of the Honour of Huntingdon during the period 1114-65 number seventy-two; '[64] this

(61) Ritchie, Normans in Scotland, 142.
(62) RRS, I, No.1
(63) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 16 and 117.
(64) RRS, I, 99.

may seem to be a small number compared to the voluminous English records. However, we must keep in mind the tragedies that have befallen many Scottish records of the period ; the charters and writs mentioned by Professor Barrow quite possibly constitute only a fraction of the original records.

Also, the Scottish claim to Northumbria, revived by David's marriage, meant that the Scottish king could now regard himself as suzerain in the moors that spread from the Tweed to the Tyne. This claim was jealously held, for within the last ten years of his reign King David confirmed to Tynemouth Priory everything it had at King Henry's death, to be held as in Henry's lifetime. The addressees of this confirmation are David's barons of Northumbria; and, perhaps most importantly, the charter was issued at Newcastle.[65] Norman mobility, as well as a distinct recognition of what he had come to regard as his right, had pervaded David's thinking, and he seems to have impressed this recognition on his son and grandsons.

The years following the death of King Henry I until the accession of his grandson Henry II in 1154 were to breed chaos in the midlands and particularly in the relations between Scotland and England. To the Scots, the events of 1136-54 must have been distasteful, particularly when contrasted with the relative peace and order that had followed David's marriage to Matilda de Senlis. Shortly after Stephen became king of England, David, who in 1127 had sworn to uphold the cause of Matilda (his niece and Henry's daughter) as heir to the throne, resigned the Honour of Huntingdon. On 5 February, 1136, at Durham, King Stephen granted the earldom and baronage of Huntingdon to Henry, David's son and heir, together with the towns of Doncaster

(65) RRS, I, No.30.

in Yorkshire and Carlisle in Cumbria. This politic arrangement was most likely David's doing and is a good illustration of the weakness of Stephen; by it David avoided doing homage to Stephen and compromising his support for Matilda the Empress. Henry did homage to Stephen. Although the Honour of Huntingdon was taken from him after the Scottish invasion of Northumbria in 1138, we have evidence that he was granted the earldom of Northumbria after 1139 -- the year in which he married Ada de Warenne.[66] In the late 1130's the political situation had certainly changed, but the great social infusion of Norman ideas into Scotland continued because the avenue for movement -- Northumbria -- remained under Scottish influence. Though one might naturally assume otherwise, 'the English events of the fifteen years 1138-53 were responsible for the decision not by a few to accept, or even to seek, fiefs in Scotland.'[67]

The involvement of the Scottish royal house in the English events of 1135-53 had indirect origins in the dependence of the Canmore dynasty on the Norman rulers of England and the marriage of David and Matilda. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that Alexander succeeded to the kingdom of Scotland 'as King Henry granted him'; this implies that the English king's consent was necessary. However, there is no other evidence that Henry's consent was obtained, much less sought;[68] nor is there any evidence that Alexander did homage to King Henry I. David married Matilda between Christmas, 1113, and the end of February, 1114. David, 'who was Earl of Northamptonshire, succeeded to the kingdom; and he held them both together.'[69]

(66) Ibid., 102 and Nos. 11, 12, 14, and 21.
(67) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 137.
(68) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 142-3.
(69) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 157.

However, William of Malmesbury states: 'When Alexander went to rest with his fathers, David, the youngest of Malcolm's sons, ascended the throne of Scotland, whom the king had made a knight and honoured by marriage with a lady of quality.'[70] In neither account is there a word about homage for the kingdom of Scotland itself. But as David undoubtedly owed homage to Henry as an English earl for the lands he held in right of his wife, the dispute was to become complicated and entangled, sensitive and passionate, bitter and at times tragic.

The conflicting claims of Matilda the Empress and Stephen of Blois[71] to the English succession provided David with an excuse to invade northern England -- ostensibly in support of the Empress but probably also in the hope of acquiring more lands in England.[72] William of Malmesbury has nothing to say about the Battle of the Standard, where David was so badly defeated. But he does say:

> '..... a little before Lent 1135 King Stephen went into Northumberland that he might have a conference with David, King of Scotland, who was said to be his enemy. From David he easily obtained all he would have, because he being naturally of gentle disposition and feeling the approach of old age, he willingly accepted the tranquility of peace, real or pretended.'[73]

(70) Ibid.

(71) Stephen was Count of Boulougne in right of his wife Matilda, the only child of Mary, sister of David I. Thus the wife of Stephen and Matilda the Empress stood in the same relation to David.

(72) Dickinson, et. al., Source Book, ii, 79.

(73) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 146-7.

Actually, we get few details from the chroniclers as to the exact chronology or authenticity of events in the succession struggle in its early stages as it concerns David and his son Henry. From his study of the evidence, Lord Hailes maintains that David must have felt abandoned by the English barons (most of whom were his own lieges and had taken the same oath as he to Matilda) who refused to rally to his arms.[74] Still, all was not lost for the Scots. A recurring theme in the history of Anglo-Scottish relations is the Scottish ambition, naturally enough, to control Northumbria. After Stephen, by the agreement of 1139, granted Northumbria to Henry, son of David, the Scottish king continued to regard it as his domain. The treaty was remarkably favourable to the Scots. In fact, the agreement of 1136 and 1139, by which Henry did homage to Stephen for lands south of the Tweed, implied that no homage was due for lands north of the Tweed.[75] David knew the importance of Northumbria in establishing a Scottish southern frontier, and if we examine his charters pertaining to the earldom we can see that, homage or no homage, he was prepared to leave absolutely no doubt that Northumbria was in his sphere of influence. The best example is a confirmation to Tynemouth Priory of its rights from the days of King Henry I.[76] That David and his son thought Northumbria was under their control is further borne out in the grant to St. Bartholomew's Priory at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where Henry begins,

(74) Hailes, Annals, i, 78.

(75) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 234.

(76) RRS I, 109 and No. 30; 'D. Dei gracia Rex Scotorum Justicie sue et vicecomitibus et omnibus baronibus (suis Francis) et Anglis de Northumb' salutem.'

'H. Dei gracia filius Regis Scot' et Comes Northumbr'. Justic' vicecomitibus, Baronibus, ministris, et omnibus probis et fidelibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis clericis et laicis. tam futuris quam presentibus tocius Northumbr' Salutem.' [77] This is clearly a very authoritative, vigourous salutation and style.

Prudently, Henry, in consideration of his 1139 oath to Stephen, took no active military part in the 1141 warfare that followed the Empress' entrance onto the stage of affairs in England. [78] Nevertheless, Simon de Senlis II appears in 1141-2 as Earl of Northampton; it therefore seems probable that after David's 1138 incursions into northern England Stephen confiscated this earldom also, since King David had violated the agreement on which it had been granted. While still married to the first Simon de Senlis, Matilda had two sons; the eldest, Simon, was heir to the earldom of Northampton. He was committed to the custody of his stepfather, David, lord of the Honour of Huntingdon and Northampton by right of his wife, during his minority. There is no evidence to the contrary that King Stephen bestowed the earldom of Northampton on Simon. Indeed, we have a charter from the middle of Stephen's reign, perhaps around 1145, which seems to prove that the second Simon de Senlis was in possession of the earldom of Northampton and had been since at least 1139. The charter we are concerned with is a notification by Arnulf the prior and the convent of St. Andrews, Northampton, that they had granted to Earl Simon the site which he sought from them in Hardingstone, Northamptonshire, on which to build a monastery. In

(77) Ibid., No.32.

(78) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 202.

the charter Simon is cited as 'Simoni comiti aduocato nostro', and there can be no doubt that this is Earl Simon II, who died in 1153.[79] Furthermore, Professor Barrow has collected evidence of a confirmation by Malcolm IV, dated 1157 x 1165, to the Abbey of St. Mary Delapre, Northampton, of the church of Fotheringay, which had been granted to it by Earl Simon II of Northampton.[80] This practically proves that the earldom of Northampton was no longer under direct Scottish control as it had been since early in 1114.

Northampton was not the only area of uncertainty in this period. The conflict between the Empress and King Stephen meant that much land and many castles changed hands as important barons, many of whom gained great strength because of Stephen's inability to deal with them, changed sides not once but several times, depending on who had the upper hand. Although Ailred of Rievaulx, an eyewitness to the Battle of the Standard, 'adapts the manner of Livy and Tacitus'[81] with his quotes verbatim of long speeches given by the dramatis personae involved in the battle, these reports, as Maxwell notes, are of great historical value because they show the dilemma in which many of these barons were placed owing to their double allegiances -- to Stephen for lands in England, to David for lands in Scotland. Theoretically, a feudal lord who was enfeoffed in both England and Scotland was bound, when the kings of the two countries were at war with each other, to bring into the

(79) F.M. Stenton, ed., 'Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections,' Northamptonshire Record Society, 144-5.

(80) ERS, I, No.274.

(81) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 151.

field the power of each fief for the support of its own overlord, and to fight in person for the overlord to whom he had first given the oath of fealty.[82] It is reasonable to assume that in the face of superior force and the desire to be on a winning side most barons, English or Scottish, decided to let theory run subordinate to practicality. In fact, some barons started out on one side and in individual engagements flew from the scene at the charge of the opposing army. Such was the case with William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey (future brother-in-law of Henry, David I's son) and his half-brother Waleran, Count of Meulan, who served in Stephen's forces. When the royal army encountered a force led by the Empress and David at Winchester in 1141, William and Waleran, deciding to save their valour for future adventures, fled the field in disgrace.[83] The times were desparate and confusing, laced with contradictory attitudes and passions. In August 1138, Robert de Brus and Bernard de Balliol, both Yorkshire vassals of David I, were sent as part of an English embassy to the Scottish king, who was ravaging Northumberland, to persuade him to stop his campaign. If he did so, Brus and Balliol would obtain the earldom of Northumbria for David.[84] According to Ailred, it was an emotional meeting with Brus pleading impassionately and David moved to tears;

> 'Against whom dost thou bear arms today and lead this huge army? Against the English, truly, and the Normans. O king, are not these they with whom thou hast ever found useful counsel and ready help, and willing obedience besides?' [85]

(82) J.H. Stevenson, 'The Scottish peerage,' SHR, ii (1905), 8-9.
(83) Complete Peerage, xii, 496-7.
(84) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 192.
(85) Ibid., 193.

In Brus' speech, then, we find an excellent summary of the results of David's marriage and his 1127 oath to the Empress. Though deeply moved, he did not relent, and his defeat in the Yorkshire moors near Northallerton resulted.

After Stephen's capture and release in 1141 -- following the high tide of the Empress' cause -- David did not play an active role in the war; [86] like most of Maud's supporters, he felt discouraged by her delay in moving toward her coronation and dispirited by the embarrassing Winchester defeat. Characteristically, he held a tight rein on Cumbria and Northumberland while watching events in England with interest. We have already mentioned the Scottish royal house's preoccupation with Northumberland, and 'it does not require a very cynical eye to discern in King David's acts a greater concern for the Northumbrian earldom than for the Plantagenet cause.' [87] He has been widely criticised for his actions and for the conduct of his campaigns, particularly the deployment of his half-naked Gallovidian troops in 1138, clearly a phenomenon that struck terror into the hearts and the pens of the English chroniclers. Dr. W.L. Warren is quick to note that quite independently of the Empress and her son Henry David invaded northern England three times, once in 1136 and twice in 1138, and 'it is beyond reasonable doubt' that the sole purpose of these incursions was to 'acquire lands long coveted by the Scottish kings.' [88] Hume Brown carries the point further and states it more bluntly when he declares that in his conduct in the affairs of 1136-9, David was 'purely selfish.' [89] This, I feel, is a bit severe, particularly in

(86) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 202.
(87) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 224.
(88) Warren, Henry II, 180.
(89) History of Scotland, (1899), i, 87.

light of the events of 1141. David had made an oath, and his persistence in the face of changing allegiances among the nobles seems to indicate that he had a genuine desire to see Matilda the Empress gain her right -- a desire that received fresh impetus after the Empress' successes in the spring of 1141 and was dashed on the rocks of misfortune and sorrow by the Empress' own folly. The Scottish king's standing in England suffered because he saw in his oath to the Empress an opportunity. He gambled and lost. He had obtained the earldom of Northampton and the Honour of Huntingdon in right of his wife; it was a remarkable investiture which he should have held for life. By supporting the Empress Maud, however, he compromised himself.[90] Despite his inactivity in the personal cause of Maud after 1141, David's role in the succession crisis in England was not yet over. Apparently after extracting an oath from young Henry of Anjou that he would leave Northumberland in Scottish hands if he became king of England, King David presented his great-nephew with the belt of knighthood at Carlisle at Whitsunday, 1149. We will hear much more of Henry of Anjou a little later.

David's last years were laced with misfortune and sorrow and tragedy, probably tempered with warm satisfaction at the strides he had made in developing the unity and identity of his kingdom. His marriage to Matilda - - a union that had forever changed Scotland -- ended with her death in 1131. His son, Henry, whose fortunes and life had been almost inextricably bound up with his own since 1136, died in 1152, not old even by medieval standards. David, by this time a very old man, had to move quickly to secure the succession.

(90) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 151.

Henry left three sons, Malcolm, William, and David. The king proclaimed Malcolm, the eldest, as his heir and put him in the care of the earl of Fife, the greatest of the native lay magnates, to be conducted around the kingdom and recognised as rex designatus. David himself took William, the second son, to Newcastle to have the barons there do homage to the boy -- probably not more than ten years old -- as earl of Northumberland.[91] The equilibrium of the kingdom thus recovered, David was at peace with himself. He had much to reflect on. His Normanising policy had lent much to the unification of Scotland; the witness-lists of the charters and the development of institutions reveal how effective this process had been in 1153. His participation in recent English affairs, despite leading to disparagement, had demonstrated what a strong monarch in the north could do -- something not easily or soon forgotten by Henry Plantagenet, who would soon take steps to neutralise that power and presence in the north.

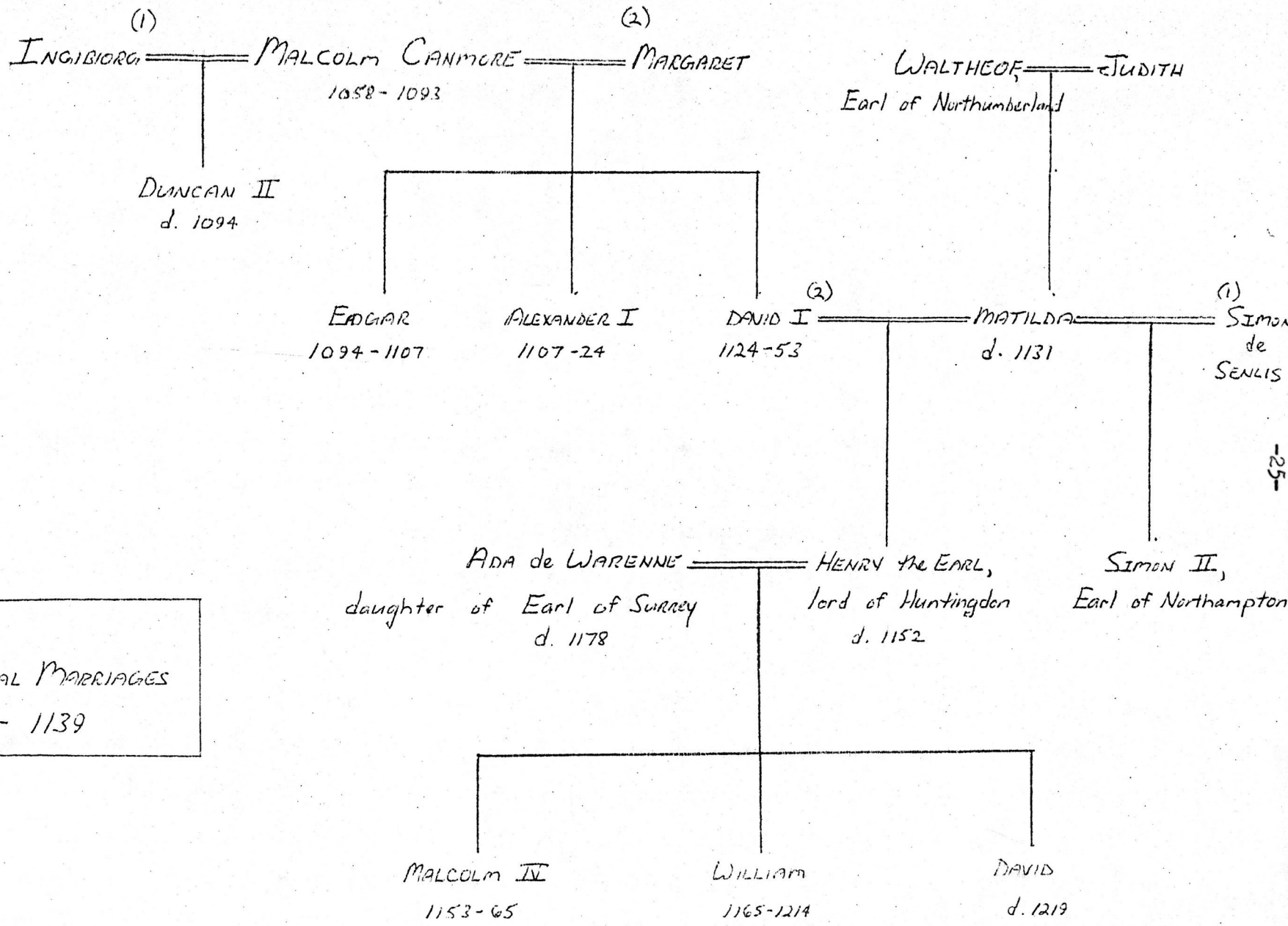
Finally, David's benevolence and his devoted work in securing the inheritance after the death of Matilda and Henry prompted a chronicler and friend to lament at his death on 24 May, 1153:

> 'O sweet soul, whither hast thou gone? whither hast thou departed? Where are those eyes full of pity and grace, with which thou wert wont to rejoice with the joyous, and to weep with the tearful?'[92]

David's achievement was far in advance of his age, but he did not Normanise Scotland alone. His son Henry, besides aiding in the

(91) RRS, I, 6.

(92) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 233; Ailred of Rievaulx, Epistola, in Twysden, Col. 347-50.



I. SCOTTISH ROYAL MARRIAGES
1113-4 — 1139

English events of 1136-52, was active in the construction of the Scoto-Norman realm through his acquisition of the Honour of Huntingdon and his marriage to Ada de Warenne, daughter of William de Warenne, second Earl of Surrey. It was through Henry's marriage as well as through his father's that many Norman barons found their way into Scotland. That the process of Normanisation continued, indeed flourished, even during the war years is borne out at every turn, but most notably in the French names appearing in the witness-lists of Henry's charters.[93] The great de Warenne honour of Henry's new wife provided the manpower necessary for the continuation of the enfeoffments in the north as the substantial Canmore presence in Northumberland provided the avenue of access. Henry was adding to David's work. As rex designatus he helped his father develop the Scoto-Northumbrian realm 'in which Anglo-Norman influences were actively and (in the main) beneficially at work in government, military organization, in the church and in urban development and trade.'[94] Where government was concerned, the sheriff, a useful administrator in England, took on the role of a royal agent in Scotland, holding royal castles and collecting rents due the king from his Scoto-Norman subjects. With the introduction of feudalism on the Norman model, landholding became a contract, with the vassal owing both loyalty and service. So thorough was the work of David and Henry in tying up defence with the prevailing Norman structure of feudal law that the system lasted long after the economic need for such a structure disappeared. An attempt to discuss the Scottish

(93) RRS, I, Nos. 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 41.

(94) Ibid., 3.

church is beyond the scope of this study, but it must be said that in the Scottish kingdom of David and Henry monasticism received new emphasis; the new monastic orders which David and Henry patronised reflected the understanding of different facets of religious life which the king and his son held. Through David the confirmation and definition of trading rights and privileges coupled with strategic placement of castles led to the development of royal burghs, giving David and Henry prestige as well as money. In short, the Norman tide -- the influences and techniques that were simultaneously at work in England and Scotland -- was so effective that by the middle of the thirteenth century kings such as Alexander II and Alexander III could look to the Western Isles in their attempts to unify and expand upon their inheritance without worrying about the stability of the important regions of Lothian, Fife, and Angus. Scotland, then, was in the twelfth century acquiring a definite Scoto-Norman identity.

We know little of Henry's early days, but he bursts abruptly out of obscurity in 1136, for in that year King Stephen granted him the Honour of Huntingdon.[95] The compromise more fully stated that Cumbria, encompassing Carlisle, and Doncaster and Northumbria would remain in Scottish hands. It is important to note that the compromise was made before Easter, 1136, and that Simon de Senlis II, without the title of earl, witnessed King Stephen's charter of Oxford and other charters after Easter, 1136.[96] Henry must have nominally forfeited Northumbria and Huntingdon after the Battle of the Standard.

(95) Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, i, 254.

(96) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 151.

Henry probably did not accept such a forfeiture. By the second Treaty of Durham in 1139 Henry retained control of Northumbria, which he held until his death.[97] He must have lost his other English lands, at least the earldom of Northampton, after the warfare of 1141, possibly as early as 1139.

The exact chronology of Henry's movements after the Treaty of Durham are not clear; if we had more concrete information, we would know much more about the terms of his marriage that summer to Ada.

> Richard of Hexham, in De Gestis Stephani, relates:
> 'Thereafter, (after the Treaty of Durham, April, 1139) Earl Henry set out with the queen to the court of King Stephen, and found him at Nottingham; and after confirmation by him of what they had done at Durham (Henry) stayed through the whole summer in the south of England; and frequenting the king's court expended great sums in his service.'[98]

This implies that Henry was among the barons who fought for King Stephen.

At any rate, it was at this time that Henry married Ada de Warenne, probably arranged by Stephen in an attempt to cultivate some measure of peace on his rear. The details of the marriage agreement, such as dower, are shrouded in mystery; one reason for this could be the arrival of the Empress at Portsmouth on 30 September, 1139 and the renewal of hostilities. Surely the dower was decided upon before this time, but the confusion brought about by Maud's

(97) Ibid., Scottish Annals, 214.

(98) Symeon of Durham, ii, 300.

appearance could have prevented Henry from taking possession of any dower lands. The immediate effects of this marriage were to create more confusion in the Scottish royal house's involvement in English politics. The more important long range effects stimulated the movement of yet more Normans to the north.

Ada de Warenne came from a family whose roots ran deep in Normandy, in the valley of the river Varenne. Her grandfather took part in the Battle of Hastings and was rewarded by the Conqueror with lands in thirteen counties (Bedford, Bucks, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Oxford, York, Berkshire, Essex, Hunts, Norfolk, Suffolk and Sussex). He was one of William's agents who helped crush the rebellion in 1075, led by the earls of Hereford, Norfolk and Northumberland. In recognition of his past service (and perhaps also to secure his loyalty) he was created Earl of Surrey, where he held no land, shortly after the accession of William Rufus. He is chiefly remembered as the founder of Lewes Priory, sometime between 1078 and 1082. When Odo, the bishop of Bayeaux, and Robert, Count of Mortain, rebelled against William Rufus, William de Warenne joined the royal forces. He was wounded at Pevensey and died later at his Cluniac priory of Lewes.[99] Ada's father William, second Earl of Surrey, supported Duke Robert against Henry I. Subsequently his English lands were confiscated by the King. Upon the arguments of Duke Robert, William's lands were restored to him. From then on he served Henry I with distinction, first at the Battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, then at Brémule in 1119,[100] in addition to

(99) Complete Peerage, xii, 493-4.

(100) Ibid., 495.

attending the king's great council at Nottingham in October 1109.[101] As a chief baron of the English realm he was often in attendance at the English court, as evidenced by the frequency of the appearance of his name, usually as Willelmus comes de Warenna, as a witness to important charters and confirmation.[102]

Ada's mother Isabella had previously been married to Robert du Beaumont, Count of Meulan and first Earl of Leicester, who died in 1118. Isabella herself was the daughter of Hugh le Grand, Count of Vermandois and son of Henry I of France. She soon deserted Robert du Beaumont to marry William de Warenne; the products of this marriage were Ada and William, third Earl of Surrey.[103]

Ada, then, possessed much French blood, and her marriage to Henry, already a substantial baron in his own right, was second only to that of David and Matilda as a catalyst for the migration of Anglo-Norman barons into Scotland.[104] It was a beneficial match for all concerned:

> 'And Henry, son of king David of Scotland, approved their friendship in this fashion, and loved Adelina, daughter of William Earl of Surrey, and asked for her in marriage. Bound by such relationship he adhered closely to the friendship of the Normans and English; because he foresaw by the advice of the wise, that this would be beneficial and most useful for him and his.'[105]

(101) Farrer, Itinerary, Nos. 230 and 231.
(102) EYC , viii, 8.
(103) Complete Peerage, xii, 496.
(104) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 137.
(105) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 215, Orderic Vitalis XIII, 19 in Migne Patrologia, 188.

The presence and influence of Earl Henry in northern England were just as great as his father's. As 'Henry Comes Northumbr'' he admonished chancellor William Cumin and sheriff Osbert of County Durham to keep the peace in that area, particularly as it concerned the brothers of Durham Cathedral Priory. As 'Comes, filius regis Scottorum' he granted land at Warkworth to Tynemouth Priory for making a saltpan. As 'Comes, filius regis Scocie' he confirmed another saltpan to Newminster Abbey, as well as confirming to Tynemouth Priory, once again, the fisheries and nets in Tynemouth as held in 'tempore Henrici Regis.'[106]

An interesting result of the marriage of Henry and Ada -- apart from the continuation of Norman immigration and the birth of three sons who were to play important roles in Scotland's history in the succeeding eighty years -- was Ada's participation in the administrative process, particularly after the death of Henry. This is made most clear to us through the charters of the period, to which Professor Barrow's Regesta Regum Scottorum and Clay's Early Yorkshire Charters are the best guides. With Haddington and Crail as her dower,[107] Ada witnesses sixteen of the surviving charters of her son Malcolm IV -- a relatively small number but not the final word on her influence at court, which, of necessity, moved around quite a lot.[108] She also attested to charters of William, usually as 'Ada comitissa matre mea,' and almost always as the first witness.[109] Her attestations and influence lingered until her death in 1178.[110]

(106) RRS, I, Nos. 23, 25, 26, 27.
(107) Ibid., 6.
(108) Ibid., 6 and Nos. e.g. 127, 154, 195, 213, 223, 254, 255.
(109) Ibid., II, Nos. 55, 61, 75, 100, 102, 172.
(110) Chron. Melrose, 89.

Henry was at his height as Earl and rex designatus when death claimed him on 12 June, 1152. His death meant that Scottish unity, always a bit precarious and requiring the utmost effort on the part of David to maintain it, would soon be tested - - David was an old man and not likely to live very long. But Scotland felt remorse at the loss of a man revered as much if not more than the king himself. As Ailred of Rievaulx described him, Henry was 'a man gentle and pious, a man of sweet nature and of pure heart, and worthy in all things to be born of such a father.' [111] Soon after Henry's death, David assigned to the chapel of the castle of Peebles a rent of ten shillings from the firma burgi, Peebles, for the celebration of divine office in the chapel, perpetually, for the soul of his son. [112]

(111) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 156, Ailred of Rievaulx, Epistola, in Twysden, Col. 368.
(112) RRS, I, No. 104.

In Pursuit of Honour

When David I died in 1153, his grandson Malcolm succeeded him as king of Scotland. In December 1154 Henry Plantagenet was crowned king of England. The stage was set, then, for a protracted struggle in which Scotland was to expend much time and effort in an attempt to preserve her inheritance.

As we saw previously, the Scots treasured Northumbria. As far as the English were concerned, their frontier with the Scots stretched to the Tweed. However, they had no confidence that the Scots had relinquished their claims to the lands lying to the south of the Tweed.[1] The Scots, for their part, considered the border to be too far north; the Scottish king would have liked to fix his eastern limit at the Tyne or the Tees, consistent with the western limit at Stainmore.[2] Extension of English authority to the Tweed dismayed the Scots, for while the Tweed marked the limit of previous Scottish penetration of Northumbria, it certainly did not mark the limit of their aspirations. Northeastern England, though sparsely inhabited and consisting mostly of lonely moors, was nevertheless inviting for a Scottish king who ruled a land consisting primarily of highlands. If power abhors a vacuum, this concept of geopolitics called the Scots south.[3]

Surely these thoughts occupied the mind of Henry II as much as they occupied the mind of Malcolm IV. To truly understand Malcolm's relations with Henry one must first understand the Plantagenet's

(1) Dickinson, et. al., Source Book, ii, 78.
(2) G.W.S. Barrow, The Border: an Inaugural Lecture, 20.
(3) Warren, Henry II, 174.

burning ambition to return England to the borders and authority which prevailed in the days of his grandfather.[4] It should not seem too unusual that in 1157 he explained to Malcolm that the king of England should not be deprived of so large a part of his kingdom as Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, which David I had acquired in the name of the Empress and which Henry in 1149 had promised to leave in Scottish hands. Henry the king had no intention of keeping the promise made by Henry the pretender, and Malcolm, a boy of fifteen, was in no position to make him keep it. Henry got his way, and the aforesaid territories were restored to him.[5] For his part, Malcolm received the Honour of Huntingdon.[6] According to Howden, Malcolm did homage to Henry, but we are ignorant of the exact nature of this homage. The issue seems to have been left conveniently ambiguous, but it is doubtful if homage was done for lands north of the Tweed.[7] That was some consolation for Malcolm, for in Lothian were the rich burghs of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick, making it much more important than a mere cordon sanitaire. The homage was important to Henry II because he was shortly to invade Wales.[8]

Malcolm had clearly lost round one, but there was little he could do about it. Henry II was just beginning to assert the overwhelming strength which was to characterise this early portion of his reign. But there was another reason: Malcolm, wanted dearly to

(4) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 224. Dr. Warren emphasises this point throughout Henry II.
(5) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 239.
(6) Lawrie, Annals, 37.
(7) RRS, I, 10.
(8) Eyton, Itinerary, 30.

be knighted, and he could with decency ask only Henry to do it. Malcolm probably expected this in 1157, but it was not forthcoming. He would have to wait. In 1159 Henry, in right of his wife, claimed Toulouse from Raymond, Count of St. Giles. Malcolm, in expectation of great adventure and the prospect of knighthood at last, follwed King Henry to France and was knighted at Perigueux on 30 June, 1159.[9] The young king's pride at his finally becoming a knight is clearly revealed in some of his subsequent charters, in which he adds to his notification, 'postquam arma suscepi'.[10]

Malcolm the Maiden[11] had finally received what he probably desired most, but he did not do this without angering his magnates. More importantly, however, his adventure in the south of France had provided him with a more thorough first-hand knowledge of the Plantagenet's continental domains. During the expedition, Malcolm came into contact with some of Henry's vassals, both French and English, many of whom may have been aggrieved at the swiftness with which Henry moved to re-establish the authority of his grandfather's reign. Malcolm recovered from his 1157 humiliation to make a gesture of independence. In 1160 he married his sister Margaret to Conan IV, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond. Malcolm had shot his first bolt, and it was in the form of a cleverly conceived marriage alliance.[12]

(9) Lawrie, Annals, 40.
(10) RRS, I, 76, and Nos. 183, 184, 195, and 198.
(11) See Anderson, Scottish Annals, 236, and Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 161- for Malcolm's avowed chastity.
(12) Michel, Francisque-Michel, Les Ecossais en France, i, 32.

The Bretons had been prominent English tenants in Richmond since the Conquest. Indeed, a Breton contingent took part in the invasion of October 1066, led by Alan Rufus, who became the first lord of the Honour of Richmond. Alan and his successors were members of a younger branch of the ducal house of Brittany. In the middle of the twelfth century the earldom and the duchy were united in the hands of Conan, the grandson of Alan Rufus. It is this Conan with whom we are presently concerned. Conan's tenants in the Honour were of Breton origin, and for some years the Honour of Richmond was known as the Honour of Brittany.[13] Names such as Mengi, Brian, Justin, Alan, Tengi, and Brito (le Bret) appear with consistency in the charters pertaining to Richmond.[14]

Yet while there were links between England and Brittany, there were also differences -- important differences. These differences were the disparities of Norman and Breton feudalism. In Brittany, the duke's authority was quite small compared to the authority of the Norman duke. Knighthood was a personal distinction in Brittany, a sign of social status rather than a qualification for military service. Breton knights in England probably adapted more readily to the mores and habits which were common to the Norman knights, but the adjustment took time. While in England 'the fundamental distinction between Frenchmen and Englishmen overrode all the matters of detail in which the custom of one French province differed from another,' in Brittany it was quite a different story.[15]

(13) EYC, iv, ix.
(14) F.M. Stenton, The First Century of English Feudalism, 26-29.
(15) Ibid., 175.

These significant differences surely became known to Malcolm as he journeyed past Brittany on his way to be knighted. With a strong Plantagenet as king of England and the memory of 1157 still fresh, the king of Scots desired an honourable alliance that would strengthen his position in relation to the fiery, passionate autocrat with whom he shared Britain. It is quite possible that the marriage of Margaret to Conan IV was arranged while Malcolm was still in France in 1159.[16] We need to keep in mind, however, that Malcolm, as lord of Huntingdon, and Conan, as Earl of Richmond, were already neighbours, and the marriage could have been contemplated at some time before the Toulouse expedition.

Conan himself was the son of Alan, Earl of Richmond, who had fought for a while for King Stephen in the English succession struggle.[17] Conan's mother, Bertha, was the daughter of Duke Conan III (d. 1148) and an illegitimate daughter of King Henry I. When Alan, the father of Conan IV, died, Bertha married Eudes de Poerhoet, who took possession of Brittany. The date of Conan's birth is unknown, but he must have been a minor when Alan died.[18] In 1156 Conan marched into Little Brittany, besieged Rennes, expelled his stepfather Eudes, and was accepted by the Bretons as duke.[19] In 1158, at the death of Geoffrey, brother of Henry II, Conan seized Nantes. This, however, made Henry II raise his eyebrows. The English king marched against Conan; he obviously did not like the idea of one of his vassals rattling sabers within earshot of his other vassals on the continent, particularly when he was already contemplating asserting his rights to Toulouse. On 29 September, 1158 Conan appeared before Henry at Avranches and submitted.[20]

(16) RRS, I, 13.
(17) EYC, iv, 90.
(18) Ibid., No.28
(19) Eyton, Itinerary, 18.
(20) Ibid., 41.

Conan, like Malcolm in 1157, had decided that discretion was the better part of valour in recognising the English king's superior power. Also like Malcolm, there was little he could do without inciting the great Planatgenet to one of his famous rages, for as Earl of Richmond he was an English vassal of the king. As the Duke of Brittany, however, he wished to be feudally independent of the Duke of Normandy -- who, of course, was Henry Plantagent. It might be said that Henry II represented one of the two common features (the other being a Celtic language) of Scotland and Brittany which made an alliance between them altogether desireable. The threat of Angevin aggression, then, helped pave the way for the marriage of Malcolm's sister to Conan of Brittany.[21]

There is evidence that this alliance was originally intended to be a double one. In the introduction to the first volume of his Regesta Regum Scottorum, Professor Barrow cites a letter in Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, xvi, in which Duke Conan's sister informs Louis VII, king of France, that she desires to marry a Frenchman rather than be queen of Scotland.[22] This undoubtedly means that Constance was to be married to Malcolm. This part of the agreement never became a reality. Since Malcolm was an avowed celibate, it is not to difficult to understand Constance's anxiety. She did eventually marry Alan, vicecomte de Rohan.[23]

(21) RRS, I, 13.
(22) Ibid., 13-4.
(23) Ibid., EYC, iv, 109 and 91, and Nos. 58 and 62.

No document setting forth the exact terms of Margaret of Scotland's marriage to Conan survives, but we know that her maritagium was twenty knight's fees in Lothian.[24]

This marriage was to have significance later in the English succession. In 1166 the Bretons rebelled. Henry II supported Conan, who in return consented to the marriage of his and Margaret's daughter Constance to Geoffrey, the son of Henry II.[25] The issue of this marriage was a boy named Arthur,[26] whom Richard I appointed in 1190 as his heir in England as well as his other lands.[27] Some mystery surrounds the demise of this Arthur. He was probably killed in 1203, by, or at the command of, Richard's brother and eventual successor, John.

We have no record of Henry II's immediate reaction to the marriage of Margaret and Conan. We can safely assume that the English king was disturbed over what W.L. Warren has termed 'signs of alienation on Malcolm's part.'[28] Surely the marriage ranks as a kind of diplomatic coup.[29] Malcolm was not finished. Thoughts of strengthening his ties with the continent to protect the realm of Scotland led him to 'a man in whom the type of all honour and

(24) APS, i, 116. (25) Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ii, 244.
(26) Chron. Melrose, 95. (27) Ibid., 99-100.
(28) Warren, Henry II, 183.
(29) Conan IV died 20 February, 1171 (Eyton, Itinerary, 154). Margaret seems to have taken quite an active part in the administration of the earldom of Richmond and the duchy of Brittany (see EYC, iv, Nos. 58,59,65, 66, 67, 70, and Stenton, Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections, 22-23). Between 1160 and 1166 she issued a charter at Guingamp in favour of the canons of the Abbey of the Holy Cross (EYC, iv, No.61) which was confirmed by the duke himself (EYC, iv, No.62). Margaret, after the death of Conan, married Humphrey de Bohun, her tocher for this marriage being £100 worth of land and twenty knights fees (APS, i, 116; RRS, II, Nos. 486 and 554). She was conveyed from England to Normandy with prisoners of the great war in 1174 (Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 137). Even after her marriage to Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, she was known as the 'Countess of Brittany' (Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 167 and 172). She died in 1201.

probity had revealed itself.'[30] In 1162 Malcolm gave his sister Ada to Florence III, Count of Holland. Florence was the son of Thierri VI and Sophie, a noble woman who had travelled to the Holy Land in 1139 and who was to repeat the trip twice later in life. In 1158, shortly after his accession (Thierri VI died on 5 August, 1157), Florence III, as a prince of the Empire, took part in the Council of Roncaglia, led by the Emperor Frederick. Florence was a great warrior; he spent the years 1166 to 1168 as a prisoner of war.[31] We must be careful when we attempt to attribute this marriage to Scotland's increasing contact with the Low Countries; in fact, Scotland and Holland, both members of the North Sea community, had been in close contact for a number of years prior to 1162. Undoubtedly, this new marriage was intended to show Henry II that Malcolm was not hesitant to exercise prudent statesmanship in his capacity as king of Scots. In addition, there is another interesting aspect of this marriage. It is not known whether Margaret or Ada was the eldest of Malcolm's sisters. But if Ada was the eldest of the three daughters of Earl Henry, and if the male line failed, the descendants of Ada's marriage with Florence III would have a good claim to the Scottish throne; more interesting, as Professor Barrow has noted, is the fact that these descendants, as counts of Holland, would not be feudally dependant on the English crown.[32]

(30) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 249.

(31) Lawrie, Annals, 66.

(32) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 53; RRS, I, 18.

From another standpoint, however, the marriage of Ada and Florence raises more questions than it answers. Unfortunately, we have no authoritative record of Ada's tocher. This is all the more puzzling when we read in the Rhythmical Chronicle that Ada's marriage portion was the earldom of Ross.[33] Anderson, from his study of the early sources, mentions also that Ross was to have been Ada's marriage portion, by deprivation of the earl, Malcolm McHeth. He is careful, however, to add that Malcolm retained the earldom.[34] Sir A.C. Lawrie, in his Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, states that the 'Earldom of Ross was given to Count Florence as his wife's marriage portion, but he never got possession of it.'[35] During the discussion of the Scottish succession in 1291, the lawyers of Count Florence V, great-grandson of Ada and Florence III and a competitor for the Scottish kingship, declared that the oldest men in Scotland acknowledged that the earldom of Ross had been granted with Ada in marriage. This is unlikely for two reasons. First, the lawyers were unable to produce a document to the effect. Secondly, it was very doubtful whether anyone in Scotland was old enough to recall any report of the earldom going to Florence III with Ada in marriage, much less remember the event from first-hand experience. Also, Malcolm McHeth was probably in possession of the earldom at the end of 1162.[36] With all the unofficial evidence for the granting of such a tocher, it is a bit tempting to

(33) Chron. Picts-Scots, 337.

(34) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 249.

(35) Lawrie, Annals, 66.

(36) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 63; RRS, I, 18.

believe that such an arrangement was at least considered, but without an authoritative contemporary record such a belief, if voiced, only constitutes conjecture.

Professor Barrow has noted that the phrase 'subsidio suorum et consilio' in Fordun's Gesta Annalia was taken by earlier historians to mean that a formal aid was levied to meet the cost of the marriages of Margaret and Ada. No other contemporary chronicle mentions this, but it is not at all unlikely that aids were taken to finance these royal marriages. In a brieve that can be safely dated between 1162 and 20 September, 1164, Malcolm informs two of his sheriffs that he has given permission to the abbot of Scone to collect aids within his own properties, and therefore the sheriffs are not to attempt to collect the aids in the abbot's lands. We cannot be positively certain, but the possibility that the auxilia referred to in this brieve were levied to help defray the cost of Ada's marriage to Florence cannot be denied.[37]

In 1162, then, Florence III sailed to Scotland to fetch Ada with what must have been a magnificent flotilla.[38] Malcolm had every reason the congratulate himself on two fine demonstrations of statesmanship, but he was treading on thin ice by irritating an injured autocrat of unpredictable moods. Henry II had recognised

(37) RRS, I, 54 and No.252

(38) Ibid., 18; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 249.

Alexander III as pope; Alexander was unable to reside at Rome because he was locked in a life or death struggle with Frederick Barbarossa, who favoured the anti pope. Florence, as mentioned before, was a prince of the Empire. Furthermore, the Emperor was perhaps Henry's strongest rival in western Europe. Over the next few years Henry's actions provided a barometer for his dissatisfaction over Scottish schemes. In 1163, records the Melrose chronicler,[39] King Malcolm went to Woodstock by way of Doncaster, where he recovered from a gave illness. Roger Howden remarks that at Woodstock 'a firm peace was made between him and the king of England.'[40] But Malcolm also did homage to Henry and gave hostages. We can be reasonably sure that any peace was on Henry's terms.[41] Surely the marriages of Malcolm's sisters to continental princes accounted for a great part of Henry's actions. Yet Professor Duncan has an interesting observation:

> .... in view of the later sensitivity on the part of the English crown about marriages contracted by the Scottish royal house, it is not impossible that those of Malcolm IV's sisters were the cause of Henry's demands -- but the explanation does not seem quite to measure up to the events, and a dissatisfaction with it remains.[42]

(39) Chron. Melrose, 78.
(40) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 242
(41) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 251; Dr. Warren, Henry II, 183, notes Dr. Anderson's suggestion that homage was demanded because Malcolm was in ill health and Henry was taking precautions against the succession of Malcolm's brother William.
(42) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 227.

We must also remember that about this time Henry II's feud with Archbishop Becket was finding intensity. Henry was out to redeem himself for a very costly error of judgement, and he was not likely to look kindly upon men who championed the archbishop. Yet sometime in 1165 Malcolm IV wrote a letter to Henry II in which he attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the king and Becket.[43] Malcolm was a Becket supporter, and it is doubtful if his letter found an agreeable audience in Henry II. Henry did not have to deal with Malcolm much longer, however. In December 1165 the Maiden, never in the best of health, passed away.

The second of Earl Henry's sons then became king of Scotland. William the Lion was already acquainted with Henry Plantagenet. In 1159 Henry conferred the royal domain of Tynedale on William as a surrogate for the surrender of Malcolm's claims to Northumberland. To William this seemed a most inadequate substitute for Northumberland. He never forgot that Henry had deprived him of his earldom, and much of his reign was devoted to attempts to recover what he considered was his by right.[44]

In August 1166 Henry went to Rennes to take possession of Brittany, which Duke Conan had ceded under a contract of marriage between his daughter Constance and Henry's son Geoffrey. William might well have been interested in this, for, as we will recall, Constance was William's niece. He followed Henry and met him at Mont St. Michel.[45] The events following the meeting between the two

(43) Materials for the History of Becket, v, 218.
(44) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, xvi - xvii; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 228.
(45) Lawrie, Annals, 114 - 115.

kings are not very clear. The Melrose chronicler says that William, 'after attempting certain feats of chivalry,'[46] returned to Scotland, and Anderson suggests that his return was hastened by a dispute with the English king.[47] We do know from a piece of private correspondence that by the autumn of 1166 Henry II and William the Lion were embroiled in what must have been a terrible row. In a letter to Archbishop Becket in that year, someone - Dr. Warren suggests John of Salisbury[48] - described an incident in which King Henry broke into an ungovernable Angevin rage at the constable of Normandy 'for seeming to speak somewhat in the king of Scotland's favour'.[49] The writer does not quote Richard de Humez, and it is sad that he doesn't, for then we would have a clearer idea as to the issue dividing the two kings. But we know that in early 1166, not long after William became king of Scotland, Pope Alexander wrote to him, entreating him to support Archbishop Becket in his struggle with King Henry.[50] Pope Alexander also wrote to Louis VII of France concerning the same subject of Henry and the archbishop,[51] and in 1168 King William was proposing an alliance with the French king. This venture apparently fell apart, for in January 1169 Louis and Henry were reconciled.[52]

Besides the matter of the archbishop, William still had his

(46) Chron. Melrose, 80. (47) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 263.
(48) Warren, Henry II, 183.
(49) Materials for the History of Becket, vi, 72; 'Igitur post egressum pueri vestri a me, qui jam diu ad vos reversus est, illud primo concepi, quod rex die quadam cum esset apud Cadomum, et de negotio suo quod habebat cum rege Scotiae sollicite pertractaret, contra Richardus de Humez, qui pro rege Scotiae aliquatenus loqui videbatur, in verba ignominiosa prorupit, et eum proditorem manifest appellavit. Rex itaque solito furore succensus pileum de capite projecit, baltheum discinxit, pallium et vestes quibus erat indutus longius abjecit, stratum sericum quod erat supra lectum manu propia removit, et quasi in sterquilinio sedens coepit straminis masticare festucas'. Henry's rages were not that frequent but they were memorable, and this passage shows how angry he must have been with William.
(50) Ibid., v, 243. (51) Ibid., 245.
(52) Warren, Henry II, 184.

own personal score to settle. Henry knew this, and he was careful to have both the Scottish king and Earl David present at the coronation of Henry the Younger in June 1170. After his coronation by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque, the young king received the homage of both William and David.[53] Around Christmas 1172 Henry the Younger visited the court of his father-in-law, Louis VII, and it was probably at this time that the great rebellion against Henry II was born.[54] Also at or about the same time, William asked Henry II to restore Northumberland to him. The English king refused. Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, recognises William's right to the whole of Northumberland north of the Tyne -- a remarkable admission for an English chronicler.[55] Henry the Younger granted the earldom to William. The die having been cast, William was now a rebel as far as Henry II was concerned. Since he had joined a confederation consisting of Louis VII as well as the young king, we see in his action the beginning of the Auld Alliance.

The chroniclers disagree on the details of William's participation in the warfare of 1173-74; Jordan Fantosme's account is probably the best.[56] The Scottish king ravaged Northumbria, threatened the whole of northern England, and Henry's justiciar felt obliged to make a truce until the summer of 1174 while he waited for reinforcements. When the war was resumed William proceded to Alnwick, where on 13 July 1174 he was surprised by a force of knights loyal to

(53) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 246.
(54) Lawrie, Annals, 125-6; Eyton, Itinerary, 169.
(55) Maxwell, Early Chroniclers, 169.
(56) Chronique de la Guerre entre les Ecossois et les Anglois in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, iii, 202 - 377.

King Henry II. In bitter fighting the Scottish king's horse fell on him, and he was captured. Henry II must have been at once jubilant and spellbound, for it is said that he spent the night before William's capture in prayer at the tomb of Archbishop Becket. William was taken to Richmond, his feet tied beneath the belly of his horse. From there he was conveyed to Southampton, thence to Normandy. At Falaise Henry dictated to him the terms of an outgoingly obnoxious peace known since as the Treaty of Falaise. William and his brother David became Henry's liege men. They also did homage to Henry the Younger, saving, of course, their fealty to King Henry II. The Scottish church was made subject to the English church. As a guarantee that he would observe the settlement, William gave up his castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. The settlement was affirmed publicly at York in 1175.[57] William also lost Tynedale.[58]

On paper the settlement looks like a full-scale vendetta. But Dr. Warren maintains that the Treaty of Falaise constituted a 'publice penance', an insurance policy for good behaviour.[59] True, the Scottish church was able to evade the claims of superiority of the English church by agreeing to give such obedience as had been given and ought to be given -- but this was just as ambiguous, if not more so, than the Scottish king's homage to the king of England. One might argue that Henry, by having William set his seal to a document

(57) Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No.1; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.139.
(58) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.133.
(59) Warren, Henry II, 185.

as embarrassing as this settlement, had gotten what he really wanted. Yet for William the grim fact remained that the English king had in his keeping the key castles of Lothian. As if this were not galling enough, William had failed to get Northumbria. Thwarted a second time in his bid for what he considered was rightfully his, William, it seemed, would forever be in pursuit of Scottish honour.

Henry, of course, knew what William was still after, and he lost no time in fortifying Edinburgh Castle.[60] After the demonstration of Angevin military retaliation and his public penance, William seemed to be more patient. Perhaps he realised that it was for the time being in his interest to stay in Henry's good graces. When Henry crossed the Channel in 1181 William and David followed him.[61] The known purpose of their crossing in 1181 was to discuss with Henry II the prevailing problem of the succession in the see of St. Andrews. However, by 1181 William was already a middle aged man, and he had not yet married, though he had illegitimate children. Henry, the Achilles heel of his diabolical temper apart, was quite a statesman, and one of the strongest assets in his repertoire was his prowess as a marriage broker. It is highly possible that ideas of William's marriage to some relation of Henry II were entertained while both kings were in Normandy in the spring and summer of 1181. But the earliest records we have of discussions concerning a marriage for the king of Scots come from the summer of 1184. At that time

(60) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.141.

(61) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 304; Lawrie, Annals, 239; RRS, II, 97.

William was at Henry's court to discuss his request to marry Matilda of Saxony, the daughter of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, and Matilda, daughter of Henry II.[62] Such a marriage would require a papal dispensation, for William and Matilda were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. The English king consented to the marriage, according to the Peterborough chronicler, providing the dispensation was forthcoming.[63]

While he may have consented to the marriage, it is doubtful whether Henry II was very excited over the prospects for it. Despite the fact that Duke Henry was his son-in-law, Saxony was still geographically in the Emperor's sphere of influence, and Henry was naturally nervous over the continental marriages of the Scottish royal family in the first place. We have no record that he did anything to facilitate the marriage's prospects other than consent to it, and he could have done this to stall for time and shop around for another bride for William, knowing that the request for the dispensation would in all likelihood be denied. If this was his thinking, he was right. William's messengers returned from the curia of Pope Lucius III without a dispensation.[64]

The question of William's marriage, then, was still unsettled. Henry could not be sure how long William would be on good behaviour without a marriage. The death of Earl Simon de Senlis III in 1185 meant that the English king now had something with which to keep William patient a little longer; at a council at Clerkenwell in mid-

(62) Lawrie, Annals, 253; Eyton, Itinerary, 256-7; RRS, II, 98.
(63) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 286.
(64) Ibid., 287.

March 1185, Henry restored the Honour of Huntingdon, which had reverted to the crown on the death of Earl Simon, to William.[65] Relations between the two kings were clearly warming, but William was still unmarried, and Henry still had in his keeping the strongest Scottish castles. In late spring of 1186 William was summoned to attend Henry's council at Oxford, and it was there arranged that he should marry Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard, vicecomte of Beaumont. William, for his part, undertook to reduce Roland, who on the death of his uncle Gilbert had seized Galloway to the disinheritance of Gilbert's son and heir, Duncan.[66] William, after consulting his advisors, agreed.[67]

The proposal for this marriage had come from Henry II himself. He was in full control of affairs. He was careful to choose for King William a maiden from a relatively insignificant family. Also, this was one continental marriage which Henry could keep his eyes on. Professor Duncan is very accurate when he says that, despite the fact that William was disparaged by the insignificance of the bride,[68] we must understand that Henry's aim here 'was probably to arrange a match with as little political connection and significance as possible.'[69]

However, with Ermengarde Henry gave William Edinburgh Castle on the condition that it be given to Ermengarde in dower, to be held for 100 marks of revenue yearly and forty knights' fees in vassalage.[70]

(65) RRS, II, 98; Chron. Melrose, 93-4.
(66) Eyton, Itinerary, 268.
(67) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 289.
(68) Ibid.; Early Sources, ii, 311; Hailes, Annals, i, 153; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 232.
(69) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 232.
(70) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 294.

It is truly remarkable that the most authoritative of the English chroniclers, including Roger Howden, report the restoration of Edinburgh Castle,[71] while the Melrose chronicler makes not the slightest allusion to it.

The marriage took place on 5 September, 1186, in a ceremony conducted by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and the assisting bishops of Norwich, Ely, Bath, and Glasgow.[72] When the ceremony was completed King Henry gave up his residence at Woodstock to provide a honeymoon palace for William and his bride. In addition he provided all the necessaries for a sumptuous wedding feast. It was, as Dr. Warren writes, 'a pleasant gesture to a man who twelve years before had been a dangerous enemy in the great war.'[73] After a four-day celebration of nuptials, William accompanied Henry to Marlborough for proceedings leading to the elections to fill the vacant English sees of York, Salisbury, and Exeter.[74]

We have already touched on the English view of William's marriage to Ermengarde; Henry, it will be remembered, actually sought no more than a match that would keep William safely 'on hold' while he set about the business of trying to consolidate his own vast domains in to an Angevin confederation. To Henry, Scottish affairs were a tiresome and worrisome interference in the development of a governmental scheme in which he was attempting to involve his rebellious, useless sons. Henry II was a busy man who most

(71) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 192.
(72) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 293-4; Early Sources, ii, 310-311.
(73) Warren, Henry II, 603-604.
(74) Eyton, Itinerary, 271.

likely sought only to assert what he thought were his rights.

On the other side of the coin, William sought to assert his rights also. The simple fact remained that despite his marriage, two of his castles in Lothian -- Berwick and Roxburgh -- remained in English hands. William might very well have requested the restoration of these castles as well as Edinburgh (and possibly Northumberland) if a discussion of Ermengarde's maritagium came up. Henry would have none of it. If a mark of national interest and statesmanship is the keeping of your neighbours in state of expectation, Henry II was a master. William's hopes had been thwarted a third time.

William's hopes still lived, however; in fact, they were given new impetus when Henry II met his miserable end at Chinon in July 1189. William lost little time in fostering good relations with the new king of England. It was a relationship of mutual benefit. William wanted his castles and Richard wanted to go on crusade. In December 1189 William gave Richard 10,000 marks for the delivery of the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick and the restoration of the liberties of the Scottish king before his capture in 1174. The liberties, as well as the conditions under which William was to hold the Honour of Huntingdon, were, once again, stated ambiguously.[75]

An aid had to be levied in Scotland to buy the kingdom out of the subjection in which it had been for fifteen years,[76] but this pact 'converted an impatient vassal into an ally affectionate and faithful. After William paid 2000 marks toward the ransom of the crusading English king in 1193[78], he felt confident enough to parrot his demand once

(75) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.196; Chron. Melrose, 98 (gives year as 1190); Foedera, i, I, 50; Lawrie, Annals, 280 - 1.
(76) RRS, II, No.326.
(77) Hailes, Annals, i, 157.
(78) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 196-7.

more for Northumberland, along with Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancaster. Richard, in the midst of his coronation festivities, refused. After William carried one of the swords of state in Richard's coronation procession he offered the English king 15,000 marks for Northumberland alone. To this, Richard agreed on one condition -- that the castles be left in English hands. Frustrated a fourth time, William returned to Scotland with only a document setting forth the expenses and protocol due the Scottish king whenever he came to the English court.[79]

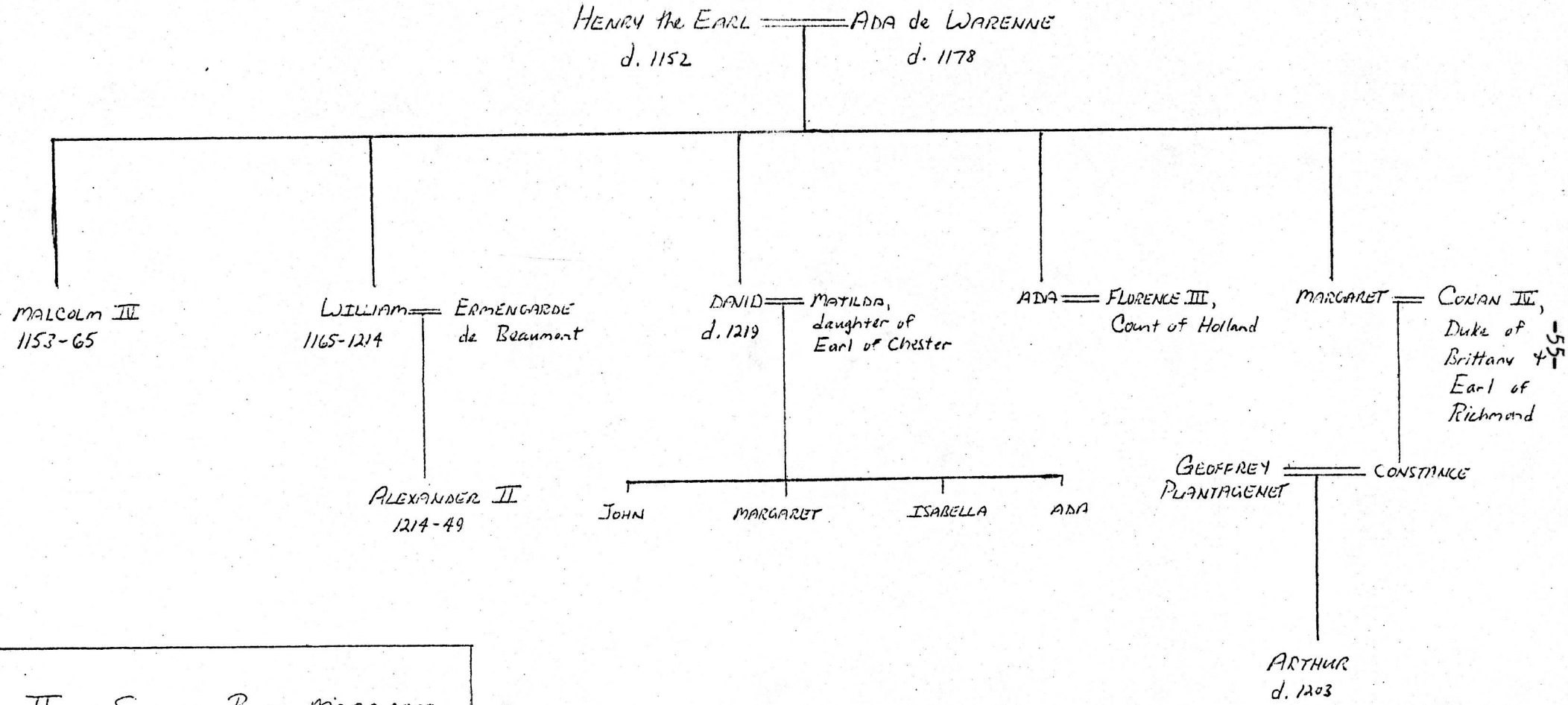
One English chronicler, however, and a very reliable one at that, records that William planned to marry his eldest daughter by Ermengarde, Margaret, to Otto, second son of Henry the Lion, exiled Duke of Saxony.[80] Otto was also the nephew of Richard I, and we can be fairly sure that the king was involved in this scheme, which was probably born at or shortly after Richard's coronation in April 1194. Otto had been made count of Poitou, Richard's old lordship; in 1198 the seven ancient electors, at the goading of Richard, made Otto Emperor. Roger Howden, our only authority on this curious enterprise, says that William fell gravely ill at Clackmannan in June 1195 and tried to secure the acceptance of Otto as his heir. The Melrose chronicler relates that at the same time William had the magnates of Scotland swear fealty to his daughter Margaret;[81] Hailes notes that the Melrose chronicler states incorrectly that this Margaret was the illegitimate daughter (named Margaret as well) of the Scottish king.[82] Why William would jockey with the succession when he had a

(79) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.226.
(80) Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene (ed. Stubbs), iii, 298-9.
(81) Hailes, Annals, i, 160-1.
(82) Ibid.

brother is not clear. His actions obviously did not please his magnates, who, led by Earl Patrick of Dunbar, rejected the idea of accepting Otto. King William recovered from his illness, but the proposed marriage of Margaret to Otto was still in the works. In December 1195 the archbishop of Canterbury was in York to discuss the marriage with the king of Scots. In negotiations it was decided that Richard should give to Otto and Margaret and their heirs the whole of Northumbria and the county of Carlisle. Richard was to have Lothian and its castles (only recently returned to William). How and exactly when Margaret and Otto were to receive Northumbria is not clear. It would have been very interesting to see what might have been in store for Scotland had this peculiar and somewhat cumbersome plot developed to the full. It was not to be, however; Queen Ermengarde became pregnant, and William, hoping for a son, backed out of the proposal.[83]

William had seen one more plan, this time a strangely conceived one, to regain the Northumbrian earldom fail. This time it was through his own default, but as far as the realm of Scotland was concerned, it was probably for the better. His relationship with Richard was still good, particularly good in light of the years to come. The entente cordial between the two kings was strengthened in 1190 when William's brother David married Matilda, the daughter of the earl of Chester. David was already an important figure in England and Scotland. He had been knighted by Henry II shortly before the coronation of Henry the Younger in 1170.[84] He seems to have

(83) Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene (ed. Stubbs), iii, 308.
(84) Chron. Melrose, 82.



II. SCOTTISH ROYAL MARRIAGES

1160-90

remained neutral in the fighting of 1173. He did not join William in the invasion of Northumberland, nor did he join the supporters of the English king, despite Henry's request for aid.[85] It was not until after Easter 1174 that David entered the war, offering battle to the English in Leicester before occupying Northampton and Huntingdon.[86] While William besieged Carlisle in April, David wrestled the castles of Knaresborough and Appleby from Robert de Estuteville.[87] After William was captured at Alnwick David traveled to Normandy to help arrange for his release.

David had not succeeded to the lordship of the Honour of Huntingdon upon the death of King David. In fact, when Earl Henry died in 1152, King Stephen restored the Honour of Huntingdon to Simon de Senlis, the second Earl of Northampton and the stepson of David I. As we have seen, when Earl Simon died in 1153, the Honour reverted once again to the crown. Henry II restored it to Malcolm IV in 1157, but William surrendered it to Henry in 1174. When Simon de Senlis III died in 1185, Henry returned it to William, and it was immediately given to David.[88] It is in this capacity of 'Earl David' or 'David, Earl of Huntingdon' that he is best known.

Yet even before receiving the Honour of Huntingdon, David was a substantial Scottish baron. Probably in 1178 -- we are not absolutely certain of the date -- William granted to David the earldom of

(85) Chronique de la Guerre entre les Anglois et les Ecossois in Chronicles of Stephen, etc., iii, 233, ll. 349 - 352.
(86) Lawrie, Annals, 186-7; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 280.
(87) Eyton, Itinerary, 178.
(88) Lawrie, Annals, 9.

Lennox as well as Dundee, Lindores in Fife, Pitmiddle, Longforgan, Newtyle in Angus, Morton beside Edinburgh and lands in Aberdeenshire including Garioch, with Fintray, Rothoid (Professor Barrow notes that Rothoid is now lost), Inverurie, Monkiegie, Bourtie, Durno (in chapel of Garioch), Oyne, and Ardoyne.[89] David seldom styled himself 'Earl of Huntingdon' in his own charters ; his usual style, 'Earl David, brother of the king of Scotland,' closely resembled the style of his father, Earl Henry.[90] As witness to King Williams's charters he was styled 'comite David fratre meo;' most of the time he headed the witness lists.[91]

Like William, David fostered good relations with Richard I. His marriage was primarily a cementing of an already firm and friendly alliance. It confirmed David's personal influence in his English holdings. On 24 June, 1190 the English king confirmed the liberties of the Honour of Huntingdon on Earl David.[92] Two months later David married Matilda,[93] whose father, Hugh, was also vicecomte of Avranches in Normandy. Born in 1147, he had risen to be a substantial English landowner until he joined the rebels against Henry II in 1173. He was captured with William at Alnwick and deprived of his earldom. The ever-magnanimous Henry, however, restored Hugh to the earldom of Chester in 1177. He married, in 1169, Bertrade, a kinswoman of Henry II. Hugh died in 1181,[94] while Bertrade appeared in 1185 inquisitions as a ward of the English king.[95] While the daughter of

(89) RRS, II, No.205. (90) Ibid., I, 99; Anderson Early Sources,ii,300.
(91) RRS, II, e.g. Nos. 268, 269, 294, 298.
(92) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.205; Lawrie, Annals, 284-6; Foedera, i, I, 48.
(93) Chron. Melrose, 99, 26 August.
(94) Complete Peerage, iii, 167.
(95) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 324.

Hugh and Bertrade was the wife of the brother of the king of Scots, their most famous child was Ranulph, styled de Blundeville Ranulph married Constances, widow of Geoffrey, Earl of Richmond and Duke of Brittany. In right of his wife, then, he styled himself Earl of Richmond and Duke of Brittany.[96] Ranulph was to play a greater role later in English affairs as a supporter of King John and the young King Henry III.

No one could have envisioned in 1190 the importance the marriage of David and Matilda would have in Scottish history 100 years later. Their eldest daughter, Margaret, was the grandmother of the future King John of Scotland. Isabel, their second daughter, was the great-grandmother of the future King Robert I. Ada, the youngest, was the grandmother of the competitor John de Hastings. John le Scot, David's son and heir apparent, was a minor when he was given to John of England as a hostage in 1212, and he was still under age when David died in 1219. Custody of the Honour of Huntingdon was then granted to Alexander II, who granted it to Ranulph de Blundeville uncle of John.[97] But in the decade of the 1190's Scottish hopes were high. The days of frustration that characterised the subjection of the realm in the reign of Henry II were gone. Earl David, through his English marriage, helped to personify once again Scottish influence in the midlands.

In the decade of the 1190's, one thing mattered significantly to the Scots -- they had managed to recover a portion of their lost honour.

(96) Complete Peerage, iii, 167-8.

(97) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 436.

Foreign Intrigues and the Beginning of the Golden Age

Although William the Lion got on well with Richard I, his relations with King John were to lead him to humiliation. William was probably familiar with the last of Eleanor of Aquitaine's brood before John became king of England. In order to secure the succession of Arthur of Brittany, William Longchamp sought an alliance with William the Lion -- an alliance which, if made, marked the Scottish king as an enemy of Prince John. In 1193, when Richard was captured and John sought to seize the throne, William refused to aid him. In fact, William contributed to the English king's ransom.[1] When John finally did become king in 1199, the stage was set once again for another Scotland-England struggle. As Bain relates, 'the fickle and treacherous nature of the new king ere long introduced elements of discord into the relations between the two countries.'[2] William, for his part, still had important business with the English crown; Northumbria, which he dearly coveted, was still in English hands. He lost no time in asking John for what he considered was his right,[3] and Roger Howden tells us that only a dream in which an oracle warned him of doom as he passed a night at the tomb of St. Margaret deterred him from entering Northumbria in force.[4] John sent word to William via the bishop of Durham, Roger Bigod, and Humphrey de Bohun to come to him, and he issued a safe-

(1) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 238.
(2) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, xxxvi.
(3) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 320 - 1.
(4) Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene (ed. Stubbs), iv, 100.

conduct for the Scottish king on 30 October, 1200.[5] If William expected John to hand over Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland when the two kings met at Lincoln on 21 November, 1200, he must have been disappointed. John, who probably never had any intention of giving up the northern counties of England, first received the homage of the Scottish King. When William repeated his demands, John asked William for a few months, until Whitsuntide 1201, to think it over. William reluctantly agreed and returned to Scotland empty-handed. As the time for further discussion approached, John asked for another postponement of the matter, this time until Michaelmas.[6] Sometime in 1201 Roger Howden, the most authoritative chronicler for this and the preceeding years, died, and for eight years thereafter there is no report by an English chronicler concerning the relations between William and John.[7] What information on the subject that is at our disposal comes from public records, and we can surmise that John and William did meet several times between 1201 and 1209.[8] The details are sketchy, but John, exhibiting his distrust of the Scottish king, attempted to construct a castle at the mouth of the Tweed. The Scots, perhaps with equivalent distrust, delayed the construction of the fortress several times with raids across the river. This was too much for John, who at the time was having more than his share of troubles with the pope, Philip of France, and his barons. Gathering together what must have been an ominous force for its day, he marched north determined to settle his feud with the Scottish king once and for all.

(5) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 323; Early Sources, ii, 353.
(6) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 326.
(7) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 204.
(8) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 371, 399, and 410.

But were the destruction of the Tweedmouth castle and William's incessant demands for Northumberland the only reasons for the English king's expedition? In 1291 the Scottish archives contained 'a charter of King John sent to King William concerning a treaty of marriage between the king of France and King William's daughter.'[9] If this means Philip II he was, as Professor Duncan notes, in deep trouble already because of a previous marriage. Nevertheless, the Annals of Margham state that in 1209 the Scottish king 'was said to have entered in a treaty with King John's enemies.'[10] How could this have been? First of all, Philip Augustus had a son, also named Philip, who was betrothed in 1201 to the daughter of Renaud, Count of Boulogne. Secondly, Renaud began in 1209 to intrigue with the English king, quite possibly sowing seeds of suspicion by dropping hints of a Franco-Scottish alliance aimed at the demise of John. The confusion of the chroniclers now begins to show through; the count of Boulogne was no enemy of John and married no daughter of William the Lion. When Count Renaud fled to England in 1212, young Philip was married to Renaud's daughter and in 1233 was invested with the county of Boulogne. William's marriage with Ermengarde de Beaumont had produced not only a son but three daughters as well, and King John in his paranoia could well have believed that one of the Scottish king's daughters had married the

(9) aAPS, i, 112.

(10) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 373.

Count [illegible] of Boulogne, thus forming an alliance against England.[11] Roger of Wendover adds that John was furious with William because the Scottish king received fugitives and public enemies from England, in some cases aiding them to John's prejudice.[12] If John truly believed that an alliance was in the works against him -- and he could hardly have forgotten that William had ravaged Northumbria in the great war against Henry II in 1173-4 -- he can hardly be blamed for marching north in force to overawe the king of Scots and possess himself of his daughters, in addition to punishing William for the Scottish mischief wrought on the Tweedmouth castle.

In July, 1209, then, William waited in a strong position near Roxburgh while King John approached Norham with his army.[13] A great battle seemed inevitable; however, William was old and sick, discouraged and shaken by the sight of the English king's army. He had no stomach for a fight; apparently, neither did some of the barons on either side, who arranged for peaceful messages to be exchanged. A major bloodbath was averted, but not without enduring humiliation to the king of Scots. By the treaty concluded at Norham no castle was to be erected at Tweedmouth -- about the only concession for William. The remainder of the treaty must have read much like the obnoxious Treaty of Falaise. William bound himself to pay 15,000 marks pro habenda benevolencia of John, in four installments of 3750 marks each. For security William was bound to hand over hostages -- two of which were his daughters Margaret and Isabella.[14] One

(11) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 372-5; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 243-4. King Edward I, in his letter to Pope Boniface VIII (Chron. Picts-Scots, 227 and Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No.30) states that William gave satisfaction to King John for the unsanctioned marriage of his daughter to the count of Boulogne.

(12) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 328-9.

(13) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 84-5.

(14) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.453; RRS, II, No.488; Chron. Melrose, 108, says 13,000 pounds were paid to John; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ii, 525, states 11,000 marks; Anderson, Scottish Annals 328-9; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 246-7.

chronicler relates that John asked for the custody of the Lord Alexander, William's son, but this was not forthcoming.[15] According to Fordun, the Scottish king resigned unconditionally and unreservedly to John all the lands which he had held of the English king, and John was to restore these lands later to Alexander. William's daughters, Margaret and Isabella, were to be married within ten years to John's infant sons, Henry and Richard: if Henry or Richard died unmarried the survivor was to marry the eldest daughter. But if either Margaret or Isabella died unmarried the survivor was to marry the heir to the English throne.[16] In 1209, then, William gave up any claim he might have had to Northumbria. In return he received assurances that Tweedmouth would not be bastioned by English forces, as well as a promise that his daughters would be nobly married and that his son would hold the northern counties of England as an appanage.[17]

Unfortunately, we do not have the original of this treaty. We are dependent on Fordun for the details; a copy of the original may well have been available to him, since he mentions that the sum due to be paid to John was 15,000 marks. Anderson maintains[18] that Fordun's version is derived from William's declaration of his part in the agreement, a copy of which Rymer used in his Foedera.[19] Quite possibly an aid was levied in Scotland to provide the money promised to the English king,[20] who at the same time was providing

(15) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 373.
(16) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 375.
(17) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 248.
(18) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 376.
(19) Foedera, i, I, 103; Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, xlv-xlviii; Barrow, RRS, II, No.488, gives some comments on some of the 'suspicious' aspects of this treaty.
(20) RRS, II, 104.

lavishly for the needs of the Scottish princesses. Among the gifts he presented to William's daughters were robes lined with rabbit's fur, fifty pounds of almonds, one hundred pounds of figs, and numerous disbursements for miscellaneous items.[21]

The Lord Alexander was about eleven years old at the time of the Norham agreement. Although he was not given over to the custody of John, there must have been talk at the time of marrying him to a daughter of King John, should Queen Isabella bear him one. Joan was born on 22 July, 1210, and arrangements were soon under way for her betrothal to the Scottish heir apparent. On 2 February, 1212 William conceded 'to his dearest lord John king of England' the marriage of his son within six years from the approaching Ash Wednesday. The king of Scots and his son promised, whatever befell King John, to be loyal to John's son Henry as their liege lord.[22] This agreement in the form we have it presents as many, if not more, problems than the Treaty of Norham of 1209. As Professor Barrow notes, the document he reprints in his second volume of Regesta Regum Scottorum, though spurious, is probably based on an authentic source. It is spurious because whoever produced it knew that of John's children Henry became king of England (Professor Barrow points out some suspicious features in the Latinity used in this document also). But regardless of the problems to be dealt with in the study of this treaty, we can be reasonably sure of its purpose. In 1212 William was far from the gallant who had dared invade the realm of Henry II. Almost seventy years of age, broken, ill, and dispirited, he feared for the peaceful succession of his son Alexander. John's displays of military

(21) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 544, 559, 562, 563, 564, 565, 568, 570, 572, 579, 581, 597, 602, 609, 612, 646.

(22) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 250-1; RRS, II, No. 505; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 508; Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations No. 4; Lawrie, Annals, 380-1 .

power and his sly tactics of humiliation had all but drained him -- he had been out-maneuvered by the English king in every way. Says Professor Duncan: 'The purpose of the treaty and the marriage was surely to secure John's support for Alexander's succession, not William's for the succession of Henry -- in 1212, the very idea must have seemed ridiculous.'[23]

On 4 March, 1212 Alexander was knighted in London by John.[24] Professor Duncan, once again, notes:

> Many years later (1236) he (Alexander) was to urge upon Henry III that King John had promised him his daughter Joanna as wife with Northumbria as tocher, and this promise, if correctly reported, would most likely be made in the first quarter of 1212. There is no likelihood that it was given in writing or that John intended to honour it, but it does suggest that the treaty of 1209 was regarded as incomplete when it was made: the rest of the transaction had to await Alexander's fourteenth year, when he could be knighted and contract marriage irreversibly.[25]

Once again, the lack of any full text of either the 1209 or the 1212 agreements leaves us grasping at bits of evidence in the hope that we can piece together the events in a satisfactory manner and chronology. I find it hard to believe that John promised Northumbria to Alexander; he had just left William overwhelmed, and I can see nothing that would have compelled him to grant Northumbria with his daughter in marriage. On the other hand, it is unlikely that

(23) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 252.
(24) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 330.
(25) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 252.

Alexander and William would have taken an assignment of no tocher with Joan in marriage lightly. Therefore, the fact that Alexander sided with the English barons against John, along with his dissatisfaction with Henry III, compels me to agree with Professor Duncan's suggestion that the 1209 Norham agreement was unsatisfactory to the Scots because some provisions which were surely under discussion at the time were not included in the treaty.

William the Lion's long reign came to an end with his death in 1214; the Lord Alexander, a boy of sixteen, succeeded his father. The best time to rebel against a new king was almost always shortly after his accession, and Alexander was soon faced with a Celtic insurrection in the north. Forces of Donald Ban MacWilliam entered Moray, only to be repulsed by Macintagart, Earl of Ross, who was able to send a collection of rebel heads to the young king as a coronation gift.[26] However, Alexander was already readying himself for military action in the south. On 7 July, 1215 he sent an embassy to King John 'regarding his affairs at the English court.'[27] What was to be discussed is not certainly known, but quite possibly it concerned the question of Northumbria. If indeed Alexander asked John for the restoration of Northumbria, he obviously was refused; there is a good chance that he expected a negative response, for he then joined the cause of the rebellious English barons. In January 1216 the young Scottish king struck south in great force. Having failed to subdue Norham Castle, he ravaged Northumbria and burned Newcastle. At this King John advanced from Durham with a great army,

(26) Chron. Melrose, 117; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 404; Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 207.

(27) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 629.

vowing in a Plantagenet rage memorable of his father that he would 'hunt the red fox-cub from his lair.'[28] Using the captured town of Berwick as a base John harried Lothian, burning Haddington and Dunbar on 17 January before returning south. The arrival of the French prince Louis in May gave new impetus to the cause of the rebels and the Scottish king. Once again Alexander moved into northern England, this time into Cumbria. After accepting the surrender of Carlisle on 8 August, 1216, Alexander advanced as far as Dover and did homage to Louis.[29] The Scottish king and the French prince were running a great risk by harrying a kingdom under the special protection of the apostolic see. The pope excommunicated Louis and all his supporters, including Alexander II, and, moreover, he laid all their lands under interdict.[30]

By late October 1216 King John was dead, and his son Henry, a boy of nine, had ascended the throne of England. Pope Honorius III wrote to Alexander II, urging him to return to the fealty of the young Henry and withdraw his support from Louis of France. Specifically, the pope promised the Scottish king 'his especial grace and the favour of the apostolic see, and moreover to aid him in redovering Henry's favour, and also his own right.'[31] The words 'his own right' in this letter are curious, especially when Honorius' later attitude toward Alexander and the kingdom of Scotland are considered; if the words 'his own right' mean Northumbria, they constitute a remarkable admission for a man who was to work vigourously for the subjugation

(28) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 406-8; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ii, 641.

(29) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 411.

(30) Ibid., 415.

(31) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.664; Cal. Papal Letters, i, 43, incorrectly states the Scottish king's name as William instead of Alexander II.

of Scotland to England. However, the words were most probably a ploy to help bring about a peace; with England and Scotland at war, Honorius' hands were tied. By the summer of 1217 Louis' men had been dealt a crushing blow in the Channel.[32] Peace was restored between Henry and Louis on 11 September. Louis announced to Alexander the form of the peace made between Henry III and himself. If Alexander wished to be included in the peace, he was advised to restore to the English king all the castles, lands, and prisoners he had recently taken.[33] That autumn the king of Scots was conducted to Berwick, where on 1 December, 1217, he was absolved.[34] He then did homage to King Henry for Huntingdon and his other English fiefs, the sheriffs in the midland shires being ordered in Henry's name to give Alexander seizin of the Honour which Earl David had held of Alexander.[35] An uneasy peace reigned as war-torn Britain licked her wounds and cheered the departure of the French.

Although peace had been obtained, we can be sure that Alexander II was far from satisfied with the course of events as they had run thus far. Louis' miserable failure at Lincoln, as well as the routing of French troop ships in the Channel, had left Alexander with little choice but to come to terms with the English king. He was absolved, but his realm was still under interdict. He still was not recognised as lord of Northumbria. And, finally, he was

(32) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 12-4.
(33) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 424; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 672 and 673.
(34) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 427; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 678, 679, and 684.
(35) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 90; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.686.

apparently still seething over the terms of the 1209 and 1212 treaties. In 1219 Honorius, at the request of Alexander II, ordered Pandulph, the papal legate in England, to inspect and confirm or annul the treaty made by King William and King John.[36] We cannot be sure, but the treaty here referred to is probably either the Norham treaty of 1209 or the treaty of 1212. On 21 July, 1219 commissioners were appointed on behalf of Henry III to settle disputes with the king of Scotland -- disputes most likely connected with the above-mentioned treaties -- in a council to be held at Norham on 2 August, 1219.[37] Later that month the legate wrote that he, Alexander II, and Stephen de Seagrave, Henry III's proctor, had met at Norham to discuss the treaty made by John and William. At the conference, the kings of England and Scotland had agreed, in the presence of the legate, to fix a day -- decided upon as 3 November -- for further discussions on the treaty. This implies that the August negotiations had not been productive. Pandulph explained further in his announcement that if peace was not the result of the November meeting the case would be proceeded with 'as it lawfully ought to be proceeded with.'[38]

In examining these records, we slowly begin to see the discomfiture of the king of Scots. Alexander could not help but see a deck stacked against him. Henry III was a young king with many of the barons behind him who had abandoned Alexander during the baronial war. Furthermore, the pope was a very interested party in this dispute.

(36) Cal. Papal Letters, i, 59-60.
(37) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 440.
(38) Ibid.

The treaty in question was apparently quite pro-English. Pope Honorius was overlord of England. If Scotland were subjugated to the English crown, he could exact tribute from Scotland as well as from England. It is also worth mentioning that Pandulph, the Papal legate, was also bishop-elect of the English see of Norwich. King Alexander was fighting not only the English king but the Holy See as well in an attempt to preserve his kingdom's independence. It was probably at this time that he and Ermengarde, the queen mother, launched a scheme to marry Marjorie, the king's younger sister, to Theobald IV, Count of Champagne and Brie. [39] In the presence of the archbishop of Rheims, Theobald and his mother, Blanche, acknowledged an agreement made with Alexander's plenipotentiaries for the contracting of a marriage between the Count Theobald and the sister of the king of Scots within the coming feast of St. Andrew (30 November). With Marjorie, Alexander and Ermengarde were to send 6,000 marks to a place in Flanders, making security through the Grandmaster of the Temple. The amount was to be paid between the coming Michaelmas and one year hence. Blanche and Theobald expressly added that if

(39) I am grateful to Professor G.W.S. Barrow for calling this marriage to my attention and lending me some very valuable notes on it. The copies of this marriage contract are in: D.W. Hunter-Marshall, 'A proposed marriage alliance between Scotland and Champagne', Scottish Notes and Queries, Third Series, vol. vii, 207-9; Edmund Martene, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, I, 872; Nicholas Camuset, Melanges Historique, i; 'Cartulaire de la Comtesse Blanche', in the Bibliotheque Nationale, 5993, fols. 115, verso 116 verso; Harleian Manuscript, 1244, fols, 16 recto-17 verso, in the British Museum; and the Neilson Manuscript in the National Library of Scotland, which is a copy of Harleian 1244. It is possible that this marriage could have been proposed during the later years of William's reign. RRS, II No.568A, reveals a grant of King William to his daughter Marjorie of the lands of Strathord and Strathbraan. As Professor Barrow has noted, this grant seems to imply an earlier marriage of Marjorie than her marriage to the Earl of Pembroke in 1235. However, since the contracting parties to the Champagne betrothal were Alexander and his mother, and since the marriage never actually took place, and, finally, since the texts of the document which we have bear the date August 1219, it is safer to suggest that this Champagne marriage was hastily arranged in the summer of 1219 to counter the Anglo-papal bloc which sought to subject Scotland to England.

Alexander and Ermengarde did not fulfill the conditions set forth in the contract, they were not obliged to carry out the marriage. The archbishop was to compel them ('compelleremus') to observe the terms of the contract on threat of ecclesiastical censure. When considering this document, we need to keep several things in mind. Throughout the treaty, the sister of the king of Scots is called Margaret. However, this could not possibly be Alexander II's elder sister Margaret, who in 1195 was betrothed to Otto of Saxony; in 1219 she was still in England, having been given, we will recall, as a hostage in 1209. Alexander's younger sister Marjorie was never in the English king's custody; therefore, Marjorie must be the 'damsel' ('domicellam') referred to in this contract. The date of the contract, August 1219, indicates that while Alexander II was publicly attempting to resolve through negotiation the outstanding issues between himself and the English crown, he was privately attempting to secure an insurance policy for Scottish independence through a continental marriage alliance. As in the 1160's, the Scottish king was once again shopping around for an alliance with which to counter the power of the English king. On 8 July, 1219 a brother of the Order of the Temple, William de Aquila, received a safe-conduct from the English king for an embassy from the king of France to Alexander II, to last until Michaelmas;[40] it seems that the Scottish king was extremely anxious to conclude the arrangement.

One cannot be too sure, however, about Blanche's and Theobald's feelings on the marriage proposal. The young count was still in his minority, and Blanche was his regent. The archbishop of Rheims,

(40) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.727. I've found no record of a request for this safe-conduct arousing suspicion in the English court. Henry and Philip were in the midst of a truce.

William de Joinville, was feudal overlord of lands held by the counts of Champagne, and he had aided Blanche and Theobald in a long struggle for the succession of Champagne and Brie. The wording of the contract, in the form of an announcement by the archbishop, is cautious and subdued, and we might not be too far off track in suggesting that the French parties in the betrothal were not overly excited about its prospects. Indeed, the marriage never took place. In May 1220 Theobald IV married the daughter of the count of Metz.[41]

With the plans to marry Marjorie wasted, Alexander II was back in his original position concerning his relations with Henry III. In April it was decided that the two men would meet at York to discuss matters.[42] On 11 June, 1220 they met in conference,[43] and on 15 June the English king announced that he would give to Alexander his sister Joan in marriage, if he could obtain her;[44] Joan was being detained by her stepfather, Hugh de Lusignan, who had married Henry's and Joan's mother Isabella.[45] If Joan could not be obtained by the English, Henry promised to give Alexander his younger sister Isabella. He also promised to marry honourably to men in his own kingdom Alexander's two sisters, Margaret and Isabella, or return them to Scotland. The Annals of Dunstable noted that Henry also conceded to Alexander 5,000 marks.[46] The same day, the king of Scots

(41) D.W. Hunter-Marshall, 'A proposed marriage alliance between Scotland and Champagne,' Scottish Notes and Queries, Third Series, vii, 209.
(42) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.755.
(43) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 334-5.
(44) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.761.
(45) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 445.
(46) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 335.

promised to marry Joan at Michaelmas next, or Isabella if Joan could not be retrieved from Hugh de Lusignan.[47]

Although all were of the time at peace, Alexander was still not pleased with the order of things, for he complained bitterly for the next seventeen years that King John's treaty with his father had still not been observed.[48] Despite the marriage agreement he was determined to see justice done. Pope Honorius, however, was pleased at the news of the marriage alliance, particularly if it strengthened peace between the two countries. In August 1220 he wrote to the legate Pandulph, urging him to foster the peace and commanding him to collect Peter's pence and the twentieth because the papal coffers had been depleted in the Holy Land subsidy.[49] King Henry seems to have been trying earnestly and working hard to make the marriage settlement work. At York he had promised Alexander II that he would restore to him the castle of Fotheringay, and he sent letters to William Marshal directing him to do so; the earl, it seems, had been detaining the castle, thus jeopardising the marriage contract 'to the king's very great loss and disgrace.'[50] Meanwhile, Alexander II applied to Pope Honorius III for the right of coronation;[51] clearly the recent marriage agreement had done nothing to eliminate the idea suggested in the 1209 and 1212 treaties that Scotland was subjugated to England. Yet we must not label the

(47) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.762; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 445.
(48) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 588.
(49) Cal. Papal Letters, i, 75; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 443.
(50) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 776 and 778.
(51) Cal. Papal Letters, i, 83. The pope informed the legate that the coronation of Alexander II was no affair of his, since the king of Scotland was said to be subject to the king of England.

Scottish king as entirely militant and uncooperative. He may not have relished the recent agreement, but neither did he shy away from it. In late April, 1221 he sent two envoys to the English king with power to prorogate, if necessary, the date fixed for his marriage to Joan,[52] whom Henry had recently obtained with the help of the pope. Henry issued safe-conducts on 12 May for the Scottish retinue in coming to York for the nuptials,[53] and he entertained the Scottish king in royal fashion for four days beginning on 16 June.[54] On the eighteenth Alexander granted a marriage portion to Joan consisting of one thousand librates of land in Jedburgh, Hassendean, Lessuden, Crail, and Kinghorn; if these fell short of one thousand pounds other lands would make up the deficiency. If Queen Ermengarde, who held Crail and Kinghorn on the Fife coast, did not wish those lands to be given to Joan in dower, the deficiency, if necessary, would be collected from the castles of Ayr, Rutherglen, and Lanark, and the vale of Clyde until the queen mother died.[55] Joan and Alexander were married the next day, 19 June.[56]

About the same time, apparently, Alexander's sister Margaret was married to Henry III's chief councillor Hubert de Burgh.[57] What details we know of this marriage merit a discussion at this point. Hubert de Burgh had worked his way up in the administrative hierarchy, serving King John as chamberlain, castellon of the Angevin repository at Chinon, sheriff of Norfolk, and justiciar.[58] He was

(52) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.799 .
(53) Ibid., No.801.
(54) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 444.
(55) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.808; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 446.
(56) Chron. Melrose, 138; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, iii, 66-7, incorrectly gives the date of the marriage as 25 June.
(57) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 90.
(58) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 23.

an extremely ambitious man, 'a ruthless graduate of the school of King John,'[59] who had worked his way into that king's service through the great de Warenne influence.[60] Hubert had married first a daughter of the earl Warenne (Earl of Surrey). His second marriage had been to King John's divorced wife Isabella; after the death of Isabella's second husband, Geoffrey fitz Peter, he had become guardian of her lands. When Isabella died in 1217, he was not slow to turn his ambitious eyes toward Margaret of Scotland, even though she was being saved for a nobler marriage, to Henry III himself. His marriage to Margaret in 1221 and his creation as Earl of Kent gave him probably what he coveted greatly, and as Powicke notes, 'the violence of the storm which broke upon him in 1232 shows how hard his efforts to hold his own must have been.'[61]

Many charters from the year 1227 survive indicating grants of land to Hubert de Burgh and Margaret.[62] But since Henry III could not grant lands by charter before 1227, Hubert might well have held many lands confirmed in 1227 as early as the reign of King John. As early as November 1223 Hubert granted the manor of Porteslade in Sussex to Margaret, his daughter by Margaret, the sister of Alexander II.[63] The great succession of grants to Hubert and his wife in the later 1220's and early 1230's provide a good barometer to his royal favour.[64]

Hubert de Burgh's fall from the royal favour was as dramatic and meteoric as his rise. When the earl of Gloucester died in 1230,

(59) R.F. Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh and Wales, 1218-1232', EHR, lxxxvii (1972), 467.
(60) S.H.F. Johnston, 'The lands of Hubert de Burgh', EHR , 1 (1935), 420-1, 426.
(61) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 23.
(62) S.H.F. Johnston, 'The lands of Hubert de Burgh,' EHR, 1 (1935), 423; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 960, 961, 962, 963, 977.
(63) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 862 and 980.
(64) Ibid., Nos. 1010, 1024, 1047, 1048, 1070, 1109, 1110, and 1146.

Hubert was given the wardship of the earl's eight-year-old son and heir. Hubert's daughter seems to have been married secretly to this boy, known as Richard de Clare, in 1232, when Margaret, Hubert's wife, had both children with her at Bury St. Edmunds. Hubert, whose favour with the king was beginning to wane as Henry became older and began to assert himself, was probably unaware of the marriage, but it did not help his cause, particularly when the marriage became known in 1236. Several years later, this secret marriage was to lead to the ruin of Hubert.[65]

Even before this time, however, Hubert was in hot water over some questionable practices -- or so it seemed. Among the public excuses given for his dismissal by Henry III in 1232 was the charge that he was involved in a movement to cease the providing of papal nominees to benefices in England. Pope Gregory IX was infuriated over the trespasses against the Church. Confused, Henry III launched an inquiry into the affair, and he learned that the justiciar Hubert had been responsible for them.[66] Now that he was of age, Henry III was annoyed with Hubert de Burgh's influence. This charge gave the English king the opportunity to dismiss him. As Professor Barrow writes, 'Henry III's increasing resentment and sudden dismissal of Hubert de Burgh was accompanied, naturally enough, by an attempt by Henry to ruin him as a baron.'[67]. The charges against Hubert were piled upon him. Henry exclaimed that the justiciar had been only a reluctant participant in the English military promenade in Brittany

(65) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 43-4.
(66) Ibid., 45; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.1175.
(67) Barrow, Feudal Britain, 259.

in 1230. Among the unsubstantiated charges against the thrusting Hubert were allegations that he had poisoned William Marshal the younger and arranged for the death of William de Braose, removing two principal marcher lords of South Wales.[68] In 1232 Henry confiscated the lands of Hubert and Margaret. The defamed justiciar threw himself on the king's mercy. Henry III ordered Hubert to appoint two attorneys for himself while he was incarcerated.[69] But the king soon decided to suspend judgement on him and allow him to retain the lands he had inherited or which had been given to him by the king.[70] Following the controversy over the marriage of Hubert's daughter to Richard de Clare, the English king remitted his 'rancour, anger, and indignation' against Hubert once again.[71] Hubert died in 1243, sixteen years before the death of his wife; during their lifetimes, their fortunes had been perhaps the most varied of any earl and countess in medieval Britain.

It was also about this time that Alexander's other sister who had been in the English king's custody, Isabella, returned, still unmarried, to Scotland,[72] according to the Melrose chronicler. However, she was given in marriage by Henry III to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Henry granting to her the third part of Roger's land to be held in dower.[73] On 10 August, 1235, Alexander granted to Roger 'Resinhall' and all other lands bought by King Alexander which he had

(68) R.F. Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh and Wales, 1218-1232,' EHR, lxxxvii (1972), 465.
(69) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1177.
(70) Ibid., No. 1210.
(71) Ibid., No. 1478.
(72) Chron. Melrose, 141.
(73) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 906. King Alexander II had ward of Hugh Bigod's lands until the majority of Roger, Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 984 and 1002.

given in marriage to Isabella.[74]

That Alexander II, in the 1237 agreement made with Henry III in the presence of the legate Otto, freed Henry III of an agreement to marry Alexander's younger sister Marjorie proves that such a marriage was planned,[75] probably before 1230. On 10 March, 1229 Alexander II granted to his sister for her marriage the whole land of Tynedale under a declaration that if she married out of the kingdom he would give her other lands in exchange. The deed was confirmed by Henry III on 25 December, 1230 at Winchester.[76] It is reported that in 1231 'the king proposed to take to wife the sister of the king of Scots, to the indignation of all his earls and barons.'[77] To the magnates, the idea of their king marrying a younger sister of the king of Scots when Hubert de Burgh had the elder as wife was unthinkable. Apparently, Henry himself was quite taken with the idea of marrying Marjorie, and it was only with great difficulty that the English barons, led by the earl of Brittany, dissuaded the English king.

With the contracting of these marriages between 1221 and 1235, it is tempting to believe that Henry and Alexander were beginning to cultivate a type of detente and that relations between them were warming. Subsequent events show that Alexander was still demanding satisfaction and that Henry III was highly suspicious of his Scottish brother-in-law. Although Alexander II and Joan visited Henry III in England several times before 1236, it is clear that matters between

(74) Scoular, Acts of Alexander II, No.203.
(75) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.1358.
(76) Ibid., lii and No. 1113.
(77) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 338-9.

them were still unsettled and that mutual distrust pervaded their relationship. Apparently, Alexander appealed once again for the right of coronation, for on 6 May, 1233 Henry III lodged an appeal in defence of his right against the coronation of the Scottish king.[78] Twice Pope Gregory admonished Alexander to keep the peace between himself and the king of England.[79] When John le Scot, Alexander's cousin and Earl of Huntingdon, died in 1237, the Scottish king took advantage of the opportunity to obtain the Honour of Huntingdon. King Henry, however, had made an arrangement with John le Scot's co-heirs whereby they succeeded to the lands and in part sold them to the crown.[80] The death of Earl John and the manner in which the Honour had been handled did little to improve the situation. To Henry III, Alexander aroused much suspicion because of his border policy, the growth of piracy in the Irish Sea, and his reception of English traitors.[81] Furthermore, the Scottish king, judging from the information we have, must have been possessed of a determined and independent spirit that left his brother-in-law ill at ease.

Matters came to a head in 1236. According to Matthew Paris, Alexander met Henry at York demanding Northumbria, which John had bestowed upon him as a marriage gift with Joan. Alexander asserted that he had charters and the testimony of quite a few magnates to prove his point. In addition, he took care to explain to Henry that he was quite prepared to take Northumbria by force with the help of

(78) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 491.
(79) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 1236 and 1277.
(80) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 533; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 1329 1331, and 1333.
(81) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 586.

the Welsh should he not be satisfied. The last thing Henry wanted was war, but neither could he stomach the mutilation of his northern region. Somehow, the conference adjourned with the two men still at peace.[82] Meeting Henry again at York the following year in the presence of the papal legate Otto, Alexander managed to obtain cancellation of the 1212 agreement -- one which he felt imposed submission upon the Scottish monarchy. The copies of the 1212 treaty were destroyed.[83] By the 1237 Treaty of York Alexander retained the Honour of Huntingdon and received a grant of lands in Northumbria and Cumberland worth two hundred pounds annually.[84] He also abandoned his claims to Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmorland.[85] On 25 September, 1237 he announced to the pope that he had come to terms with Henry in the legate's presence.[86]

Possibly Otto was in great part responsible for the Treaty of York of 1237. He undoubtedly arbitrated when the lands conceded to the Scottish king were selected. It is equally possible, however, that Alexander II resented the legate's participation. Otto had come at the request of Henry III, he had traveled with Henry, and in the final analysis he supported the English view.[87] To Alexander, this must have brought back memories of the summer of 1219, when he faced not only the diplomatic power of England but papal diplomacy as well.

(82) Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, iii, 372-3.
(83) Barrow, Feudal Britain, 386.
(84) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 92.
(85) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1358; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 503; Barrow, The Border: an Inaugural Lecture, 2.
(86) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1359.
(87) Dorothy Williamson, 'The legate Otto in Scotland and Ireland, 1237-1240,' SHR, xxviii - xxix (1949-50), 20.

We can be fairly sure of the seriousness of Alexander's threat to take Northumbria by force -- sure, at least, of the English king's fear that he might. Three days after the agreement at York, Henry withdrew orders to fortify Bamburgh and Newcastle.[88]

Throughout the period 1221 to 1237, Joan, Henry's sister and Alexander's wife, had been a thread of continuity in the relations between the two kings. Her death in March 1238 broke a close tie which symbolised friendship and peace. Yet the marriage of Joan and Alexander also represented 'the maintenance of the old tradition of Scottish dependence on England.'[89] Throughout his reign, Alexander had laboured to free himself and his people from a situation created by a treaty which, if it did not state it outright, at least strongly implied that Scotland was subject to England. While the Scottish king was surely saddened at the death of his wife, he cannot have been blind to the ironic opportunity it presented.

Alexander, now a widower, must have contemplated marriage with a sister of Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry III, as we gather from a letter from the English king of 9 August, 1238. In the letter, Henry regretted that Alexander's marriage to Joan had not had the desired result, adding that he hoped that they both had been mutually strengthened by the union.[90] The English king's envoy was briefed on Alexander's plans. The marriage never materialised, however. Alexander continued to shop around. On 15 May, 1239, he married Marie, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci.[91]

(88) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1362.
(89) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 18.
(90) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 558 and 1444; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 511-2.
(91) Chron. Melrose, 149.

If Alexander was looking to foster good relations with King Henry he certainly failed in this move. But if he was seeking to make a defiant gesture of independence -- and undoubtedly he was -- it is hard to see how he could have done better. With this marriage, French for English influence was substituted at the Scottish court. Ingelram de Couci had numerous French connections. Marie's younger sister, Alice, married the count of Guines, in the Pas de Calais. Like Flanders, upon whom she was feudally dependent, Guines was a member of the North Sea community, as also was Scotland.[92] Ingelram de Couci himself had been one of Louis' supporters in England in 1215, left in charge in England when Louis returned to France for aid. He must have been a somewhat tactless man, and certainly repulsive to Henry III; the Annals of Dunstable called him 'a noble man, but not discreet.'[93] Clearly, the Scottish king's new marriage did not improve his relations with Henry III. In fact, Tytler notes the assertion in Speed's Chronicle that the problems between the two kings in the 1240's were due to the influence of Ingelram de Couci.[94]

Couci, however, had little to do with the immediate problems between the two kings. These problems involved the assignment of lands to Alexander II in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of York of 1237. Shortly after Joan's death Henry had commanded his barons to assist the sheriff of Cumberland in extending his demesnes in Cumberland and Northumberland to two hundred librates of land for the purposes of assigning the said lands to the king of Scots.[95]

(92) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 18-9.
(93) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 417-8.
(94) Patrick Fraser Tytler, History of Scotland, i, 19-20.
(95) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1409

But the lands apparently were not assigned immediately; Henry was beginning to develop a capacity for procrastination and concoction of excuses that would pervade his relations with Alexander III. By November 1240 the two hundred pounds worth of land had still not been assigned to Alexander II,[96] who must surely have been growing impatient. A year later Henry was arranging a conference to decide the extent and value of the lands that were outstanding. Although a commission investigating the matter met during the first three months of 1242, it was not until 22 April of that year that the English king assigned to Alexander five manors and sixty librates of land in Penrith, after agreeing to pay Alexander three hundred pounds in arrears.[97] Henry then embarked for France, leaving the defence of the northern English counties to the king of Scots.[98]

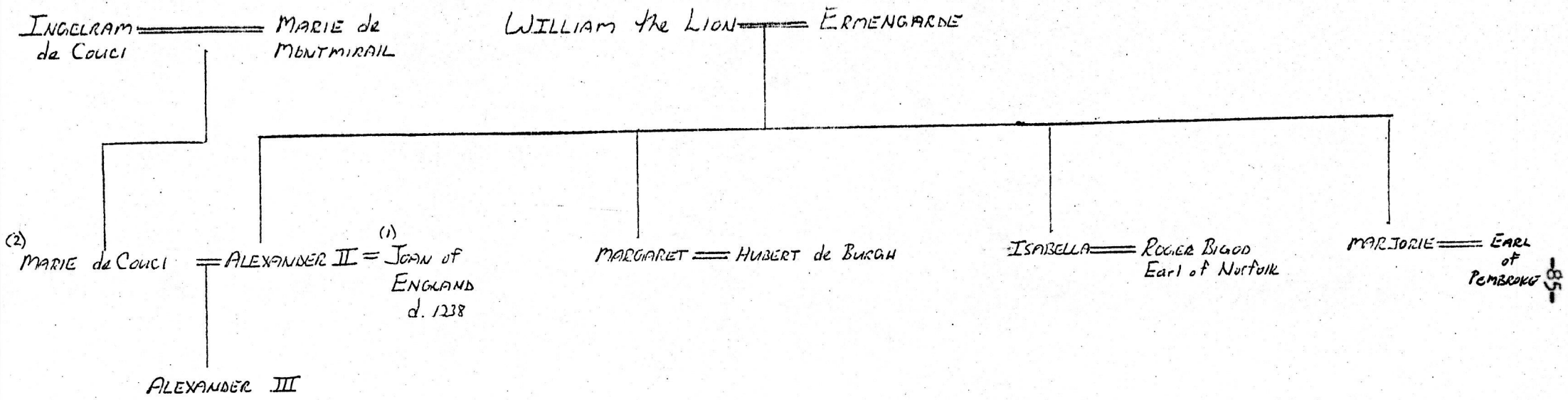
No sooner had this issue been settled than Patrick of Galloway, Earl of Atholl, defeated Walter Bisset of Mar in a tournament near Haddington. The next night Atholl was burned to death in his house. Patrick's kinsmen cried for blood; they accused the Bissets of burning Atholl. Walter's lands were forfeited, and Alexander II, pressured by a great number of his barons and against his own judgement, banished Bisset from the kingdom. Traveling to England, Bisset filled Henry III's ear with charges that Alexander could not keep peace in his realm, and that the Scottish king harboured English traitors. Henry's suspicions, never long dormant, were renewed with vigour as

(96) Ibid., No. 1506.
(97) Ibid., Nos. 1575, 1576, and 1577; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 504.
(98) Chron. Melrose, 154-5; Michel, Les Ecossais in France, 32-3.

he jealously pondered how the king of Scots, whom he considered hard put to protect his own subjects, could have connections with one of the greatest barons in France. Determined to deal a decisive death blow to the Scoto-Couci alliance, he summoned his barons to meet him at Newcastle on 1 August, 1244.[99] Alexander also marched to Newcastle in force. A huge battle was averted by the mediation of the English barons, who were in no fighting temper. A new treaty was drawn up in which Alexander promised to keep the peace with Henry III and his heirs and refrain from entering into foreign alliances to the detriment of England, provided the terms of the 1237 settlement were observed. The 1244 accord also speaks of the contracting of marriage between the son of Alexander II and Marie (the future Alexander III) and King Henry's daughter Margaret. Alexander attempted to ease Henry's anxiety by informing him that he had no evil designs;[100] He also took it upon himself to inform Pope Innocent IV of the peace.[101]

Once again, a peace had been made -- this time a peace, one would think, which should have set Henry's mind at ease. Henry, however, seemed to be as nervous, paranoid, and suspicious as ever. In 1245 he dismissed the idea of going on crusade because he considered himself surrounded by enemies.[102] His words and actions during the later years of Alexander II's reign go a long way in explaining why he

(99) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1637.
(100) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 587-8; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1654; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 536, notes that Henry's counterpart of the treaty of 1244 conceded that the agreement 'should not prejudice the king of Scotland in making marriages freely', and that 'the Scots could have demanded this because Henry cited the 1212 agreement of the marriage of Alexander II in an attempt to contract a similar grant for Alexander (III).'
(101) Scoular, Acts of Alexander II, No.327.
(102) Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, iv, 489; 'Rex Francorum cruce signatur. Et si sui eum sequunter, quis admiratur? Circumvallor hostibus meis. Suspectus est mihi rex Francorum. Suspectior rex Scotorum. Manifeste mihi princeps Walliae adversatur. Papa protegit in me insurgentes.'



III. Scottish Royal Marriages 1221-49

wished to be so involved in Scottish government, particularly during Alexander III's minority -- he feared any goings on with which he was not familiar.

Of Alexander II it can be safely said that he did much to assert the independence and identity of the realm of Scotland during his reign. Inheriting a kingdom in implied subjection to England, he skillfully used foreign intrigues in the form of continental marriage alliances to counter the power of the English monarch.[103] It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened in Anglo-Scottish relations had the proposed Champagne marriage become a reality. With the birth of his son at Roxburgh on 4 September, 1241, the succession was secure, and Alexander could set about the business of consolidating the western portion of his kingdom. He had already engineered the subjugation of Argyll. In 1249 he sailed to take possession of the Western Isles. It was an ill-fated voyage; the king died on the island of Kerrara after a severe illness. He left an eight-year old son and heir and a kingdom on the brink of a golden age. But so had the late king reigned that on the accession of Alexander III it was exclaimed:

> 'His son, who now holds the sceptre of Scotland, has his father's name: may he follow his father's acts!'[104]

(103) Professor Barrow and Professor D.E.R. Watt have drawn my attention to a letter of Pope Innocent IV of 20 May, 1248 (Theiner, Monumenta, No.135) in which an unnamed 'soror regis Scocie', wife of a 'B. de Rozstoc', is granted a faculty to visit the monastery of Doberan in Schwerin diocese two or three times a year. There is not enough evidence to determine who this Scottish princess is, or if indeed she is a Scottish princess at all. Professor Barrow is of the opinion that a papal scribe has miscopied Suecie as Scocie, and that the unnamed lady is a Swedish princess. But there is also much confusion over the identity of 'B de Rozstoc.' He could be Heinrich Burwin II, who confirmed the possessions of Doberan in 1218, or his son Heinrich Burwin III, who became prince of Rostock in 1236. The use of the style 'B. de Rozstoc' is a very peculiar. There simply is not enough information to determine exactly who these people are, but I am very grateful to Professor Barrow and Professor Watt for giving me access to notes on this interesting, if perplexing, letter.

(104). Chron. Picts-Scots, 182; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 559.

Wyne, Wax, Gamyn, and Glé

Scotsmen of later centuries were to look upon the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III as their golden age. Although she was far from being the wealthiest state in western Christendom, Scotland held her own in the North Sea community. The intermarriage of Celtic Scots and Scoto-Normans, which had been going on since the first half of the twelfth century, had helped obliterate the racial antipathies that occasionally tended to sabotage Scottish unity. Indeed, during the reigns of Alexander II and his son there was little indication of the jealousy between the Celtic Scots and the Norman barons which had regularly troubled David I, Malcolm IV, and William,[1] although some later historians interpreted the events of Alexander III's minority as such a struggle. Alexander II had sought to crown his subjugation of Argyll by attempting to bring the Isles within the closer influence of the crown; Alexander III was to finish his work for him. In 1249 the country was gradually rising to a higher level of living as North Sea trade grew and Scottish currency became stabilised. Scotland, then, 'enjoyed much prosperity in Alexander III's time.'[2] Truly, times were better in Scotland in 1286 than they were to be for many years to come.

Alexander III came to the throne of Scotland a boy of seven years and ten months, and his minority was curious, colourful, and confusing. There was no clear demarcation line between the two parties

(1) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 88.

(2) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 573.

that dominated the history of Scotland from 1249 to 1258; the men in these parties followed with somewhat shifting allegiance the leadership of two extremely powerful men -- Alan Durward and Walter Comyn.[3] Durward had been appointed justiciar of Scotia by Alexander II, but after the death of that king he was sole justiciar in Scotland, as David de Lindsay ceased to be justiciar in Lothian.[4] Walter Comyn was Earl of Mentieth and the head of a powerful family which numbered two earls and thirty knights. In fact, the list of men in each of the parties reads like a contemporary who's who of the Scottish baronage. Names such as Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, and William, Earl of Mar, his brother-in-law, head the Comyn list. Although the two parties first asserted themselves in earnest shortly after the death of Alexander II, they could have emerged, maintains D.E.R. Watt, 'in response to the Bisset witch-hunt' of the early 1240's.[5]

A review of things to come seems to have taken place as early as Alexander III's coronation at Scone in the second week of July 1249. A group of magnates led by Durward argued that the boy must be knighted before he was inaugurated, and there are hints that Alan Durward wanted to do the honour himself. He based his claim on the fact that in 1216 Henry III of England had been knighted by William Marshal, that grand old symbol of chivalry whom the English barons subsequently asked to assume the office of rector.[6] Durward was obviously putting in a claim for the regency. Comyn, Earl of Mentieth,

(3) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 95.
(4) D.E.R. Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III in Scotland,' TRHS, xxi (1971), 4.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., 7.

rejected Alan's arguments and persuaded the assembled magnates that Alexander should be inaugurated immediately. The boy was placed on a throne, consecrated by the bishop of St. Andrews, and heard an old Highland Scot recite his genealogy in Gaelic.

Few details of the Scottish government between the death of Alexander II and the marriage of Alexander III survive. The late king seems to have left no contingency plans for a regency in the event of his early death. Shortly after the translation of the relics of St. Margaret to Dunfermline on 19 June, 1250 -- a ceremony which seemed to symbolise national cohesion -- Marie de Couci, the queen mother, left for France.[7] There is no evidence that she was offered or even tried to assume the regency. Henry III was silent on the arrangements made for the young king's minority, thus implying at least approval on his part. Undoubtedly, he did not regret the departure from the Scottish scene of a daughter of Ingelram de Couci,[8] and quite possibly he was pleased that the regency should consist of power distributed evenly within a circle of responsible magnates. Within a year, however, the English king was to have growing concerns over the sole justiciarship of Durward and some Scottish activities. In 1250 the Scots attempted to secure the coronation and annointing for their young king.[9] On 6 April, 1251 Pope Innocent IV wrote to Henry III in reply to the English king's request that the king of Scots should not be crowned or annointed without his consent. The pope carefully explained that because the apostolic see was unaccustomed

(7) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 588.

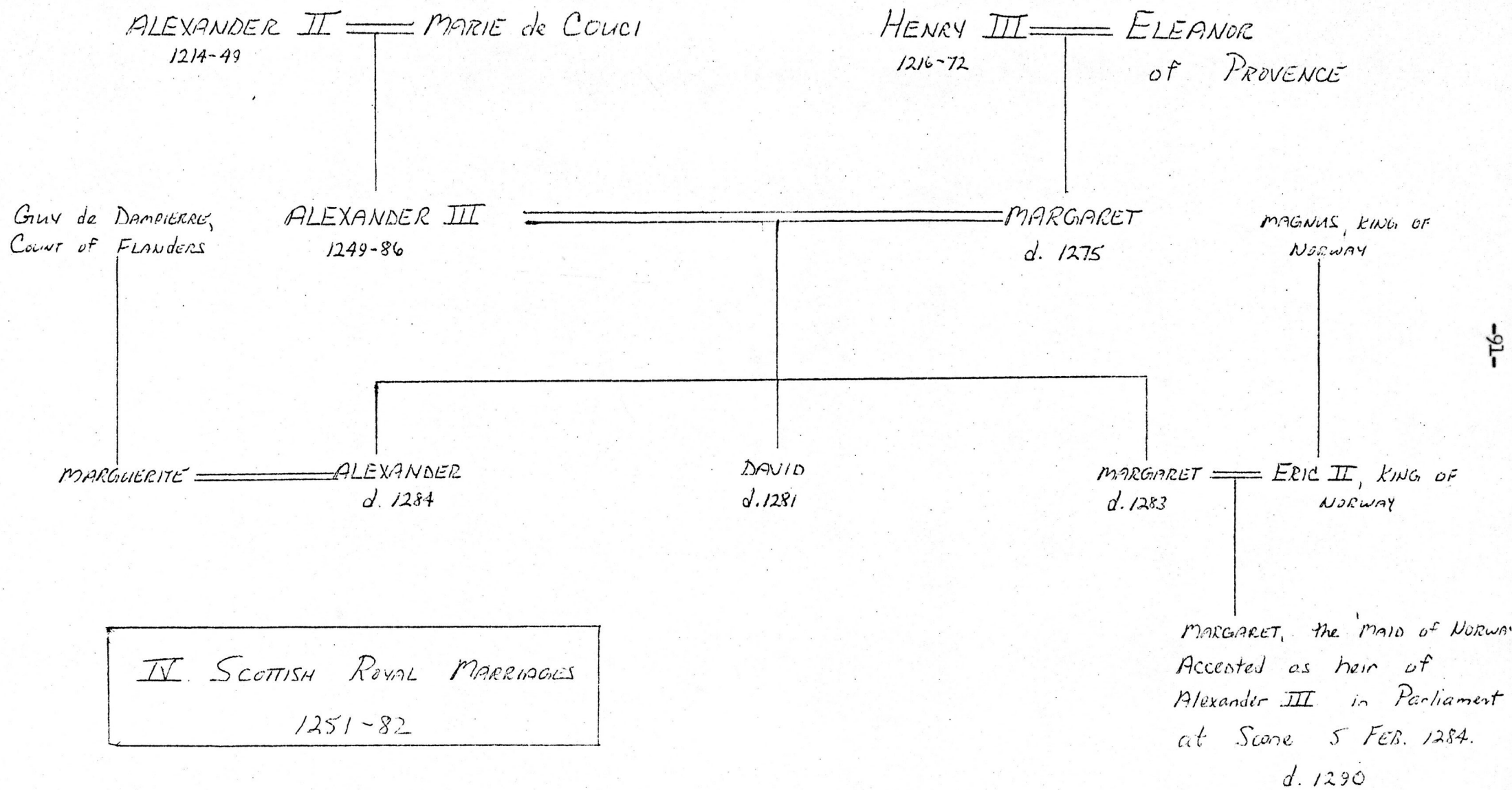
(8) D.E.R. Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III in Scotland,' TRHS, xxi (1971), 6.

(9) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 559-60.

to such demands, Henry should not be too surprised that his request was not granted. Much unlike Honorius III, Innocent had no intention of prejudicing the Scottish king's dignity. The pope added that Henry should not be disturbed at his refusing to grant him the tithes of ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland, but he promised the English king that he would grant nothing prejudicial to the kingdom of England.[10]

Henry III was perhaps a bit put off at this development, but there was little he could do about it. His daughter Margaret, born in 1240,[11] was soon to marry the Scottish king in fulfillment of the 1244 agreement with the Scots. The records of the preparations for the royal marriage indicated that Henry went to tremendous expense to marry his daughter off in proper fashion. Salmon, herring, deer, and hinds were ordered by the hundreds for the occasion.[12] As the day for the big event approached Henry ordered five hundred ells of cloth and dozens of pairs of shoes for distribution to the poor people of York,[13] where the wedding was to be. Henry's knights were to have several changes of garments available for the entirety of the celebration. Alexander was knighted at York on Christmas Day 1251; the next day he was married to Margaret.[14] Henry III then promised to pay five thousand marks as his daughter's maritagium within four years of the next Easter.[15] The dowry was very small, considering the extravagance of the marriage preparations and festivities.

(10) Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No.9; Cal. Docs.Scot., i, No. 1798;
(11) Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, iii, 281.
(12) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 1815, 1844, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835.
(13) Ibid., No. 1840.
(14) Chron. Melrose, 179; Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, iii, 117-8, uses the wrong year (1252).
(15) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1848.



IV. SCOTTISH ROYAL MARRIAGES

1251-82

What is worse, it was not paid for years despite Alexander's repeated demands. The young Scottish king did homage for the lands which he held of Henry III in England. Henry requested homage for the kingdom of Scotland also, but Alexander excused himself on the grounds that he had come to York to be married, adding that he could not take so important a step without the advice of his magnates.[16] Whether Henry expected such an answer is unknown; in view of the prevailing circumstances there was nothing more to be said at the time about the question of homage. The English king must have taken the refusal well, but he did take advantage to enquire into the dissatisfaction which Walter Comyn and some of the members of his party had with Alan Durward and the state of affairs concerning the Scottish government.[17] Their complaints probably found a sympathetic ear in Henry III, who was himself beginning to find the Durward government less than satisfactory. The fact that Scottish agents at the curia had been advancing the matter of coronation and annointing for Alexander -- coupled with the fact that these same agents were maintaining that papal taxes raised in Scotland should be used for Scots and not by Henry III -- made the English king realise that something had to be done to establish a regime in Scotland that would be at once more efficient and more responsive to him.[18] Quite possibly he considered himself, as the Scottish king's father-in-law, qualified to make a change.[19] He supported the Comyns, who feared Durward's

(16) Chron. Picts-Scots., clxxi.

(17) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 562.

(18) D.E.R. Watt. 'The minority of Alexander II in Scotland,' TRHS, xxi (1971), 9.

(19) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 589: 'King Henry regarded himself as responsible, in a way never clearly defined, for the well-being of the realm of Scotland and the fortunes of his son-in-law and daughter.'

sole justiciarship and growing power as much as Henry did. After the marriage ceremony at York, Henry III, perhaps with Alexander's assent, removed the royal officials of the Durward party.[20]

Of the fact that Alan Durward was thrusting and extremely ambitious there is no doubt. That he had made a bid to knight Alexander III and that he had probably been sole justiciar in Scotland since 1249 proves this. He had held immense power in the later years of Alexander III's reign, and, judging from the apparent resentment of Walter Comyn and his colleagues, this power had only snowballed since that king's death. But was there something else?

Alan Durward was married to Marjorie, the only illegitimate daughter of King Alexander II,[21] and he was charged with appealing to Rome for the legitimation of his wife and his daughter by her, with a view to certain future contingencies -- that is, the death of King Alexander III. Professor Duncan admits the possibility that messengers from Scotland could have been in Rome in 1251 to put this issue to Pope Innocent IV, who alone could consider such an issue.[22] Such a scheme made Durward an extremely dangerous subject, and it is not difficult to imagine Henry III's alarm and fear for his daughter and son-in-law. In his eyes, he had a perfectly legitimate reason for wanting to rid himself and the Scots of Durward at this time.

With the marriage, the homage, and the clean sweep of the Scottish government completed, Alexander III and his bride were dispatched with great honour to Scotland, the sheriff of Northumberland

(20) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 562.

(21) Scots Peerage, i, 6; Dunbar, Scottish kings, 92.

(22) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 561. Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, could have been one of these messengers. Subsequent accusations by his convent were thought to suggest he was privy to Durward's plans.

being commanded to make New Year's gifts of wine and fish to the royal pair.[23] On 2 January, 1252 Henry gave Alexander seizin of all the lands and tenements held by Alexander II in Cumberland -- lands and tenements which had been taken into Henry's hands at the death of Alexander II.[24]

In Scotland the earls of Mentieth and Mar returned to the control of the king and the government. With the departure of Alan Durward, Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, became justiciar of Scotia. The justiciarship of Lothian also was revived in the person of Thomas de Normanville from Maxton in Roxburghshire. The keeper of the king's seal was 'a pushing university teacher' known as Master Gamelin.[25] With many of the major barons of Scotland now behind them, the Comyns formed one of the most powerful groups in the history of Scottish government. Although it would be extreme to refer to them collectively as a 'national party,' they were undoubtedly strong men who were quite well established in Scotland. They were not alone. Surely there had been talk during the ousting of the Durward party in December 1251 of a representative of Henry III at the Scottish court. In fact, there were two representatives of the English king. The most influential, Robert de Ros , was the son of one of William the Lion's illegitimate daughters and a baronial leader in England in 1215. The other representative was John de Balliol of Barnard Castle in County Durham.

(23) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1851.

(24) Ibid., No. 1857.

(25) Duncan, Making of the kingdom, 562.

Henry's concern for his daughter and his son-in-law seems to have increased all the time. On 2 July, 1253, a month before he was to set out to Gascony, he asked the Scots for permission for Queen Margaret to visit her mother in England for a spell of rest and relaxation.[26] The Scottish government refused the request. In Gascony Henry fell victim to rumours of a deadly Castilian plot against him; alarmed, he sent word to Scotland to the effect 'that since the link and league' between the two kingdoms required mutual interchange, Alexander should therefore summon a parliament to decide upon the aid to be sent to the English king oversea.[27] The Comyns were no doubt suspicious of this request, but Alan Durward answered King Henry's cry for help in May 1254, departing shortly thereafter for military service in Gascony. Durward undoubtedly heaped upon the English king his opinions concerning the Comyn government in control in Scotland: 'he not only received the king's friendship, but also accused in many ways those who had accused him before the same king with their accomplices.'[28] Henry III has been accused of following the course of action recommended to him by the last person to whom he spoke on a matter. Unfortunately, we do not have details of Durward's alleged accusations, but subsequent events prove that if Alan did influence him, Henry III was probably justified in his actions.

(26) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1935; Royal Letters, Henry III, ii, 99.
(27) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 1966 and 1974.
(28) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 576.

Robert de Ros and John Balliol seem to have identified with the Comyn party. Queen Margaret was soon accusing them of treating her unfaithfully and dishonestly. According to Matthew Paris, a clerk named Reginald of Bath was dispatched to ascertain the facts concerning the treatment of the young queen. He was allegedly poisoned at some point during his mission, but he managed to live long enough to report that Margaret 'was unfaithfully and inhumanely treated among those unworthy Scots.'[29] The mistreatment of Margaret led Henry to suspect not only the Comyns but also Ros and Balliol. The election of Master Gamelin to the see of St. Andrews, undoubtedly engineered by the Comyns, did nothing to ease Henry's frame of mind; we can see from public records that the English king considered Gamelin to be perhaps as unsavoury a character as Ingelram de Couci.

Reports and events became too much for Henry. In July 1255 he sent Richard, Earl of Gloucester, and a trusted adviser, John Mansel, to Scotland on another fact-finding mission. Queen Margaret reported to Gloucester and Mansel that she was practically a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, 'a dreary and solitary place, wholly lacking wholesome air or verdure.' She complained further that Alexander was denied conjugal access to her.[30] When Henry heard these reports he took steps to remedy the situation, marching north during the first week of August 1255.[31] Furious over the actions of his two men at the Scottish court, he seized Robert de Ros' lands and imposed heavy fines on John de Balliol.[32] Approaching York, he informed

(29) Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, v, 501-2; Historia Anglorum, iii, 346.

(30) Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, v, 504-6.

(31) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 1986, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1997.

(32) Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, iii, 347.

Durward and the earls of Strathearn, Carrick, and Dunbar that he would support them and take them under his protection 'against all those of the kingdom of Scotland who have done wrong, or shall presume to have done wrong, to our dear and faithful son, Alexander, the king of Scotland; or to our friends or adherents, unjustly; and who have been rebels against our dearest daughter Margaret.'[33]

On 16 August Henry declared his intention of advancing into Scotland.[34] Apparently, Gloucester and Mansel returned to Edinburgh for on 4 September -- Alexander's fourteenth birthday -- they acknowledged that the Scottish king and queen had been received into their custody.[35] They were conveyed to Roxburgh, and negotiations began between King Henry, King Alexander, and perhaps the Durward and Comyn parties. During the negotiations Henry apparently tried to get the Comyns to agree to a projected outline of Scottish government to last until the end of Alexander's minority. The Melrose chronicler speaks of the English king attempting to coerce the Comyns 'to put their seals to a certain most wicked document which the aforesaid conspirators (meaning the Durward party) had drawn up and sealed, in which many things were contained that might result in the dishonour of the king and kingdom.'[36]

On 20 September, 1255 Henry III announced that he had received letters from the king of Scots in which Alexander declared that at the instance of his father-in-law he had removed from his council the

(33) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 581.
(34) Ibid.
(35) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2002.
(36) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 583.

bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane and Gamelin, the bishop-elect of St. Andrews; Walter Comyn, Earl of Mentieth; Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan; William, Earl of Mar; John de Balliol; Robert de Ros; Aymer and Marie de Maxwell; John Comyn; and Thomas de Normanville, as well as thirteen others. He went on to say that their removal had been precipitated by their recent and accumulated 'demerits', and that they would not be restored to royal favour unless some foreign power invaded Scotland. By the advice of Henry III Alexander appointed to his council the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, Alan Durward (who became justiciar in Scotia once again), Walter de Moray (who became justiciar of Lothian), the earls of Fife, Carrick, Strathearn, and Dunbar, and Alexander the Steward, with six others, who were not to be removed from the council for seven years from 14 September, 1255 unless Henry and Alexander agreed to a shorter term. Any vacancies on the council were to be filled by the surviving councillors. Finally, Alexander promised Henry that he would treat Margaret with 'conjugal affection.'[37] In all, twenty-six Comyn supporters were specifically excluded from any share in the Scottish government until they made their peace with Alexander.[38] The document was given to Alexander at Carham near Wark on the advice of Henry's councillors, and the same day Henry announced that he had detained Margaret, whom Alexander had left at Wark, on account of the queen of England's ill health.[39] This document, then, indicates another wholesale clearing of the Scottish government at the instance of Henry III, and, as Professor Duncan notes, 'King Alexander was really submitting to rule by a group of his own magnates backed by the English king.'[40]

(37) Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No. 10; Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2013; Foedera, i, I, 329; APS, i, 419-20.

(38) Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, 31.

(39) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No.2012.

(40) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 566-7.

But the new administration was not an 'English party'. It drew its unity from the desirability of maintaining efficient Scottish government until the young king came of age. The document of 20 September specified that nothing was to de done concerning feudal wards or escheats without the consent of the councillors, and they seem to have respected Alexander's minority by preserving his domains and his revenues. These councillors -- men like Gilbert de Hay, Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and Richard of Inverkeithing (formerly chamberlain of Alexander II and now bishop of Dunkeld and chancellor) -- were responsible and knew the value of peace and order.[41] However, their overwhelming distrust of the Comyns and their desire to see that the Comyns did not pose a threat to the king and the new government led them to press charges against the Comyns for the alleged mishandling of crown property. In addition, they brought charges at the papal curia against Gamelin, the former keeper of the king's seal, to deprive him of the see of St. Andrews, to which he had been elected. It did not work. Gamelin was consecrated in December 1255.[42] The schemes of the Durward party were to come back to haunt them two years later; as Watt says, 'The uncompromising attitude of the council was reaping its reward of a hardening of Comyn camaraderie.'[43]

Henry III, as always, was apprehensive about the Scottish situation, and he still feared for the well-being of his daughter. On 29 June, 1256 he issued a safe-conduct to the royal children and their retinue in coming to visit him, no matters being discussed concerning the realm of Scotland against Alexander's will.[44] On 2 September Henry granted

(41) Ibid., 567-9.
(42) Theiner, Monumenta, No. 201.
(43) D.E.R. Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III in Scotland, TRHS, xxi (1971), 16.
(44) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2053.

the Honour of Huntingdon to Alexander,[45] and he soon followed this up with orders to his northern barons to give the Scottish king any aid he might need in the future against the 'gainsayers.'[46] Alexander also received five hundred marks, 'by way of gift,' but this could have represented a small installment of Margaret's overdue dowry.[47] Finally, the English king empowered the trusty Mansel to go to Scotland to deal with the Comyns, who were most likely disparaged over their ill fortune and were inciting the English king's nervousness.[48] Queen Margaret herself left London for Scotland on 3 November, 1256.[49]

Tension prevailed during the closing weeks of 1256 and the first half of 1257. Early in February, Alexander reported to Henry the welfare of himself and his queen and asked him to listen to the messengers he had sent to the English king regarding 'a certain form, concerning which the earls of Mentieth, of Buchan, and of Mar, and John Comyn, along with the other magnates of our kingdom, have insistently supplicated us, for the benefit of peace, and the tranquility of our realm.'[50] Alexander went on to say that he and Margaret had grave complaints against the Comyns and certain other nobles. In 1257 Marie de Couci and her new husband, John de Acre, arrived at Dover with the intention of visiting Scotland, much to the disdain of Henry, who granted them safe-conduct only on the grounds that they would have nothing to do with Alexander III, Margaret, or the Scottish government.[51] This was not the only bad news for Henry. On 20 July

(45) Anderson, Scottish Annals, 375; Royal Letters, Henry III, ii, 120.
(46) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2062.
(47) Ibid., No. 2070.
(48) Ibid., No. 2063.
(49) Ibid., No. 2072.
(50) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 588.
(51) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 2083 and 2084.

Pope Alexander IV ordered the restitution of Gamelin, who had successfully defended himself against the charges brought about by Durward and his supporters. Henry ordered the arrest of Gamelin should he set foot on the English coast attempting to return to Scotland. The same day of the pope's announcement the king ordered John Mansel and the archbishop of York to try to terminate the disputes between Alexander III and his magnates.[52] But the issue of Gamelin, the obstinacy of the Scottish government, the determination of the Comyns, and the interference of Henry III all combined to create an atmosphere of passion and tension which made negotiations almost impossible.

On the night of 28 October, 1257 the Comyn party, led by Earl Walter of Mentieth, swooped into Kinross, seized the king and queen, and assumed power.[53] The royal seal was taken from the dean of Dunkeld, who held it for Richard of Inverkeithing. Durward, Dunbar, and the king's other councillors had been excommunicated at Cambuskenneth by the bishop of Dunblane and the abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose, and it is said that the Comyns took advantage of this, charging that excommunicated barons could not serve the king. The collapse of the Durward government necessarily followed.[54] Matthew Paris regards the seizure of Alexander III and Margaret as a passionate act which testifies to the intense jealousy of the Celtic nobles and people of the foreigners -- Normans and Flemings -- who had supplanted them all in the best lands and positions in Scotland.[55] Subsequently,

(52) Ibid., No. 2090.
(53) Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 592.
(54) Hume Brown, History of Scotland (1911), i, 98.
(55) Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, v. 656.

many historians have come to view the Comyns as an almost fanatically Scottish national party, highly concerned with the maintenance of a high level of Scottish government, but just as concerned with the rescue of their lord from the 'English party'. Yet Durward and his supporters, regardless of the English king's influence, were just as concerned with Alexander and the state of the Scottish government as the Comyns. Thus, so much for the misleading assertion that the Durward government were English pawns. Professor Duncan calls Matthew Paris 'a noted xenophobe'[56] who cannot be relied upon to correctly interpret the years of Alexander III's minority. Professor Watt discounts Matthew Paris also, but he does regard the act of the Comyns as 'the seizure of power by a small, resentful, fearful, and vengful group whose prospects of winning general acceptance as the minority government can never have been very strong.'[57] The coup has the marks of a desperate last act, but it also has features that indicate that it was planned months ahead of time -- namely the arrival back in Scotland of Marie de Couci and her and John de Acre's participation in the new government, not to mention the excommunication sentences against the Durward government.

When Henry III in England received the news of the events in Scotland he ordered his barons in York, Northumberland, and Cumberland to be ready to aid him.[58] The northern castles of Wark and Norham were bastioned and put in a state of readiness. On 5 April, 1258, he guaranteed two leaders of the ousted regency, Alan Durward and Walter de Moray, safe retreat in England.[59] In Scotland, meanwhile, the Comyns

(56) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 575.
(57) D.E.R. Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III in Scotland,' TRHS, xxi (1971), 17.
(58) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2113.
(59) Ibid., Nos. 2121 and 2470; Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 591.

were moving swiftly. The Welsh were actively hostile to Henry III, so Llewelyn may have seemed an ally whom it was politic for the new regime to conciliate. On 18 March, 1258[60] The Comyn party made a pact with the Welsh in which they stated that they would not allow any power to invade Wales with Scottish help. Nor would they support the king of England against the Welsh. If Alexander III compelled them to make a truce with Henry they would seek to procure a peace for the Welsh also. The Comyns further promised that they were not to violate the treaty unless the king of Scots compelled them to do so, in which case they would try to persuade Alexander to enter into the agreement. Although Henry III did not know it, the Comyns were prepared to meet any interference from the south. In August Henry finally dispatched his envoy Mansel once again to deal with Alexander III's enemies for the sake of the Scottish king's honour.[61]

However, at the end of August the English king expressed great surprise upon hearing from two of Alexander III's envoys, the abbot of Dunfermline and William de Hay, that a new government was being formed in Scotland, a government which included Gamelin, bishop of St. Andrews. Henry was especially dumbfounded since he had just sent Mansel and two other envoys to Scotland to treat of peace between Alexander and the Magnates.[62] There was little Henry could do, for his barons were clamouring louder than ever and he was not in effective control of the English government. The young Scottish king seemed determined to put

(60) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2155. The date given there, 18 March, 1258, is in old reckoning and actually means 18 March, 1259. Walter Comyn, who is named in the agreement, died in November 1258. Bain's date must be an error, and the year 1258 is probably the correct date of this agreement.

(61) Ibid., No. 2131.

(62) Ibid., i, No. 2133.

an end to the infighting among the different factions of his barons, and his new assertiveness caught everyone, including his confused father-in-law, by surprise. According to the Melrose chronicler, Alexander came to Roxburgh in force to subdue the 'excommunicated traitors.' He met envoys from the English court in early September, and together they concluded a peace between the king and the two hostile factions of the magnates.[63] The new agreement represented a compromise. The new governors of the realm were to be Gamelin, bishop of St. Andrews; John de Acre and his wife, Marie de Couci; Walter Comyn, Earl of Mentieth; Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan; William, Earl of Mar; Alexander the Steward; Robert de Meyners; and Gilbert de Hay.[64] On 6 November, 1258 Henry III recognised the new Scottish government so long as they upheld faithfully the laws and the customs of the land and preserved faith for King Alexander and Queen Margaret. But he added that if any of the new councillors failed to uphold the laws and customs and hold faith to the king and queen and did not make amends within three months he would be free of his obligation.[65] Although the English king continued to take a great interest in the events in the north until his death in 1272, his direct influence in the affairs of Scottish government ended at this time.

The events of the year 1258 are extremely significant; as mentioned before, they illustrate an increasing assertiveness on the part

(63) Chron. Melrose, 183-4.

(64) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 593.

(65) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2139; Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No.11.

of Alexander III and a genuine desire to take matters into his own hands in order to stop the game of musical chairs in Scottish government and quell baronial bickering. He acted wisely and prudently. Professor Duncan in particular cites the March 1258 treaty with the Welsh, explaining:

> ..... it (the treaty with the Welsh) is of great value in showing that while Alexander III did not control the Comyns, he was by the middle of March 1258 a free agent, and the Comyns were so far from controlling him that they imagined his relations with Henry III to be closer than ever -- even extending to possible military help.[66]

Yet the Scottish magnates on both sides were by the autumn of 1258 quite willing to cooperate with the king in helping him manage the government on his own. This fact, coupled with Alexander's own assertive behaviour and the fact that he was no longer a mere boy (he was seventeen years old on 4 September, 1258) leads Professor Watt to remark that 'for most practical purposes the minority of Alexander III ended in 1258.'[67]

From my study of the public records of this period, a slight shift can be perceived in Henry III's attitude toward the Scottish situation after 1258. Although he and Queen Eleanor were ever attentive to news from Scotland touching upon the welfare of their daughter and son-in-law, the tone of alarm, nervousness, and suspicion is not nearly as present in his writs and communications after 1258. Early

(66) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 571.

(67) D.E.R. Watt, 'The minority of Alexander III in Scotland,' TRHS, xxi (1971), 20.

in November 1259 he restored Robert de Ros to favour, forgiving him for his earlier offences against Alexander and Margaret.[68] In November 1260 the king and queen of Scotland visited England once again, with nothing to be discussed concerning Scotland without Alexander's consent. Although the queen was pregnant, Alexander was persuaded to leave her in England for the birth of her child against Henry's promise that he would not detain her or the child.[69] This amicable visit marked the renewal of friendly relations.

Alexander, it should be noted, had reason to regard the visit in terms other than a purely social occasion. In the first place, he was anxious to exercise suzerainty over the Honour of Huntingdon, which Henry had granted to him in 1256. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, he wanted to see his wife's overdue dowry paid. On 14 May, 1259 Henry had written to Alexander, explaining that he had not paid the money he owed him because of his peace with the king of France, his affairs in Sicily and Wales, and heavy expenses.[70] A year later he paid Alexander 550 marks for the maritagium, but he apparently had to borrow the money for that.[71] On 3 October, 1260 he paid the Scottish king another five hundred marks, and a month later he authorised payment of yet another five hundred marks.[72] On 10 July, 1261 he allowed John Mansel 250 pounds out of the issues of the bishopric of Durham 'in part payment of the king's debt' to the king of Scotland.[73]

(68) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 2168 and 2169. Henry had received John de Balliol back into favour two years earlier, see Cal. Docs. Scot., i, 2091 and 2092.

(69) Ibid., Nos. 2198 and 2206; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 576-7.

(70) Ibid., No. 2157.

(71) Ibid., No. 2192.

(72) Ibid., Nos. 2209, 2219, and 2220.

(73) Ibid., No. 2261.

Almost a fortnight later 1000 pounds was paid to Alexander in further reduction of the balance of Margaret's maritagium in a complicated series of transactions in which Alexander the Steward of Scotland was involved.[74] Despite the fact that Henry III was his father-in-law, Alexander could not help but be somewhat perturbed by the English king's procrastination, excuses, and errors. On 14 February, 1262 he sent a letter to Henry asking him to restore a receipt for 1000 pounds and sending a receipt for 1000 marks.[75] A month later Henry was writing to Alexander imploring that since he had recently paid Alexander five hundred marks, and since he was at intolerable expenses without paying the queen's dowry, and finally, since he had interceded at the Norwegian court for two Scottish envoys detained by King Hakon, why wouldn't Alexander grant him a delay until Michaelmas.[76] Henry reported to the Scottish king on 13 March, 1263 that he had not paid him because his treasurer was dead, some bailiffs had not rendered their accounts, and he himself was ill. He did promise, however, to check and see how much was still outstanding and to take appropriate steps to clear up the balance.[77] Alexander probably never received the full 5000 marks pledged as Margaret's maritagium. By an instrument dated 2 November, 1270 the arrears were reported to amount to 2000 marks, for which King Henry granted an assignment of debt of 4000 marks due by Llewelyn of Wales.[78]

(74) Ibid., Nos. 2264 and 2265.
(75) Grant G. Simpson, Acts of Alexander III, No. 35.
(76) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2295.
(77) Ibid., No. 2328.
(78) Ibid., No. 2580 and xlv.

The assignment, however, was cancelled because Henry received nothing from Llewelyn. In 1274 Edward I commanded the barons of the exchequer to determine how much money was still to be paid to Alexander,[79] but no evidence exists to show that the balance, still 2000 marks in 1272, was ever paid. Later in the same year, Edward paid Alexander 175 pounds, but this amount was for the Scottish king's expenses at Edward's coronation.[80] In November 1260, then, Alexander III left his wife in England, returning to Scotland with five hundred marks and Henry's promise that should he die, his infant child would be delivered to the Scottish magnates.[81] The visit to England in 1260 is very important for another reason. That Alexander III agreed to leave his pregnant wife in England and that he made demands for Margaret's dowry seem to indicate that he was much stronger and much more confident than he had ever been before.

The amicable relations engendered in 1260 lasted despite Alexander's demands and Henry's non-payment. In 1263 Henry wrote to Alexander strongly advising him not to go on an expedition to the Western Isles that summer.[82] The Scottish king and queen visited England two more times, in 1268 and 1269 respectively, each time for what appear to be social visits.[83] Henry showered his royal children with fatherly affection. Many historians have blamed him for his interference, charging that his participation in Scottish events during

(79) Ibid., ii, No. 25.
(80) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 33; Foedera, i, II, 520.
(81) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 2229.
(82) Royal Letters, Henry III, ii, 246-7.
(83) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 2542, 2486, and 2519.

Alexander's minority was politically motivated. However, parental affection and over-protectiveness undoubtedly account for most of his actions, and 'whatever his faults, he appears to have been a kind father and brother.'[84] John of Fordun wrote of Henry:

> 'Never did any of the English or British kings in any time past keep his pledges towards the Scots more faithfully and steadfastly then this Henry. For nearly the whole of his reign he was looked upon by the Kings of Scotland, father and son, as their most faithful neighbour and counsellor: a thing which never or seldom had happened, save in the days -- alas so few! -- of Richard Coeur de Lion.'[85]

As mentioned before, the agreement of 1237 had contained a provision whereby the king of Scots was to receive two hundred pounds worth of land annually. In 1242 Henry III had finally assigned to Alexander II the manors of Langwadeby, Saleghild, Scotheby, Scoureby, Carlanton and sixty librates of land in Penrith.[86] The lands of the Scottish kings in England always tended to create awkward situations, and in the reign of Alexander III things were no different. We know that by 1271 the Scottish king was being annoyed by some of Henry's men in his manor of Penrith in Cumberland.[87] The border lands had always been an area of uncertainty, as had Tynedale. From

(84) Ibid., xli.
(85) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 213.
(86) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, No. 1575.
(87) Cal. Docs. Scot., i, Nos. 2578, 2579, 2588, and 2589.

the detail of the assize roll of Alexander III's justiciars we can see how Tynedale was treasured by the Scottish King.[88] But the privileges of the king of Scots in Tynedale possessions were closely watched and probably grudgingly admitted by the English king. In January 1272 Alexander III agreed to a perambulation in Tynedale to clear up some disputes,[89] but on 22 April, 1272 he complained forcefully to Queen Eleanor that Henry's seneschal in a Cumberland forest which had long ago been granted to Alexander II was 'not conducting himself in a befitting manner.'[90] Shortly after Christmas 1275 the king wrote to Edward I in regard to collecting an aid in Tynedale for the English king; Alexander said, politely but firmly, that he could not reply to Edward until he had consulted his barons in Tynedale on the matter.[91] Subsequent public records show that Edward and Alexander worked together closely and in harmony to sort out the problems in the northern English lands. Alexander desired good relations with Edward, but he was determined to preserve his liberties in Tynedale.

Unlike the death of Joan in 1238, the death of Queen Margaret in February 1275 did not lead to a rift between the two kingdoms. Relations were still amicable, and both kings realised the advantage of keeping them that way. In the ensuing years embassies from both countries crossed the border to deal with border disputes and Alexander's

(88) Ibid., ii, No. 168.
(89) Royal Letters, Henry III, ii, 340.
(90) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No.1.
(91) Ibid., No.62.

undischarged homage for his English holdings. On 19 March, 1278 Edward ordered the sheriff of Cumberland to cease his demands on the king of Scots for one hundred marks due by his father and one hundred due by Alexander III himself until further word from Edward, who the next day informed the bishop of Durham to maintain peace with the Scots as long as they stayed on their own side of Tweed.[92] Scottish historians have been less than kind to Edward I, with due justification, but it is clear that in the 1270's he was doing all he could to cultivate peace and had no designs on the kingdom of Scotland.

Despite the friendly relations there was still unfinished business between the two countries. Alexander did not do homage for his English lands when he came to England for Edward's coronation in 1274. In May 1278 Alexander informed Edward that he would come to do homage only with the usual safe-conduct of the English magnates, or at least Edward's letter that his coming would not prejudice him or his heirs.[93] Edward I granted this shortly thereafter.[94] Alexander came south, met Edward at Tewkesbury, and on 17 October, 1278 offered to do homage to him there. Edward prorogued it until such time as the two kings would be in London, declaring that this would prejudice neither Alexander nor his heirs.[95] The homage was performed at Westminster on 28 October. There are, however, discrepancies between the Scottish and English versions of the occasion.

(92) Ibid., Nos. 106 and 111.
(93) Ibid., No. 120.
(94) Ibid., No. 122.
(95) Ibid., No. 128.

One oddity is the date for the homage given in the English Close Roll -- 29 September, 1278,[96] hence giving rise to the assumption by some that this memorandum is not genuine but rather was doctored up to meet the demand in 1291 for documents supporting Edward's claim to the overlordship of Scotland. This memorandum records the fealty sworn by Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, on behalf of Alexander III for the lands the Scottish king held in England. Alexander became Edward's liegeman against all men, and Edward received this, reserving for himself and his heirs a claim to homage for the kingdom of Scotland when they chose to speak of it. Immediately afterward Alexander's request to swear fealty by the mouth of Robert de Brus was granted without prejudice.

The Scottish version of the homage of 1278 is as follows:

> 'I become your man for the lands which I hold of you in the realm of England for which I owe you homage, reserving (the right) of my kingdom.'
>
> Then the bishop of Norwich said, 'and let it be reserved to the king of England, if he should have right to your homage for the kingdom.' The king answered him publicly at once, saying 'nobody but God himself has the right to the homage for my realm of Scotland, and I hold it of nobody but God himself.' Then Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, swore fealty for the king of Scotland on the king's soul in the following words:

(96) Ibid., No. 127; Foedera, i, II, 563. (Close Rolls, 6 Edward I. m. 5 dorso). Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 595, gives the year of the homage as 1279.

> 'So may God help me, and these Holy Gospels my Lord the king of Scotland here will be faithful to you in matters of life and limb, and of earthly honour, and will keep your counsels secret.' Then the king of Scotland added, 'for the lands that I hold of you in the realm of England'. And the king of Scotland agreed to perform the proper and customary services to the king of England for the lands for which he had done homage to him, reserving (the rights of) his kingdom.'[97]

Professor Barrow notes that this may come from a well-founded source; it was copied between 1320 and 1330 'into the cartulary of Dunfermline Abbey by a scribe who has copied beside it two documents of Ralph of Greenlaw, abbot of Dunfermline from 1275 to 1296, and we know that Abbot Ralph was one of those commissioned in 1291 to make an inventory of the royal archives in Edinburgh castle.'[98] The bishop of Norwich mentioned above was William Middleton, a brilliant canon lawyer whom the English king commissioned in 1279 to research the circumstances surrounding Alexander's homage.[99] Professor Duncan maintains that the English version of the homage represents Edward's desire to state his claim for the record.[100] Professor Barrow remarks that the English account seems to imply that Edward I had not gotten his way,[101] and I have to agree on this point when both the English and Scottish accounts are closely compared. Similarly,

(97) Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No. 12(b); Dunfermline Registrum, No. 321. Printed here from Stones.

(98) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 17-8; Dunfermline Registrum, No. 320, 324.

(99) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 18; Foedera, i, II, 565.

(100) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 591.

(101) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 18.

one can readily see in Alexander's answer to the bishop of Norwich a rejection of the idea that Scotland was subject to England.

The years 1279 to 1286 marked a continuation of good relations between the two kingdoms. Times were good in Scotland; Alexander made an annual progress around a realm that was prospering and becoming one of the more successful states in western Europe.

For Scotland, the next seven years constituted the calm before the storm.

From Gold into Lead

When Queen Margaret died in 1275, there was no need for Alexander III to remarry immediately. He had two sons and a fourteen-year-old daughter. The loss of Margaret was a severe blow, no doubt; but the king himself was in his thirties, in good health, confident in himself and his inheritance. The kingdom, as maintained before, was prospering in a way that heretofore had been unknown -- the customs of Berwick-upon-Tweed alone were said to be worth a quarter of those of all England. Relations with England were good. Edward I, though he might have urged a right to find marriages for the Scottish royal children, did not push himself on the Scots as far as we know.[1] For the Scots, it was good thing that Edward did not press any claims concerning the marriage of Alexander's daughter Margaret, born in England on 28 February, 1261. The king of Scots had plans for the marriage of his daughter.

Henry III's weakness in the 1260's, due mostly to baronial discontent, had inspired Alexander and his council with the idea of acquiring the Western Isles. Negotiations with the Norwegians had been to no avail; King Hakon IV forcibly detained a Scottish embassy, releasing them, ironically enough, only ont the intercession of Henry III. By this time Hakon was convinced that the Scots had designs for the Isles. In the summer of 1263, he sailed to curb what he considered was blatant Scottish aggression. In October he was defeated at Largs on the Ayrshire coast and left to digest the fact

(1) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 591.

that he could not call the Isles his own. In 1264 and 1265 the Scots periodically attacked the Isles and Man, and Hakon's successor, his son Magnus, realised that he must negotiate.[2] On 2 July, 1266 Magnus, through two plenipotentiaries, resigned all right and claim to Man, the Hebrides, and the remainder of the Western Isles. In the future, the Isles would be possessed by King Alexander and his heirs.[3] The Scots agreed to pay 4000 marks over four years for Man. This Treaty of Perth added land and prestige to the Scottish kingdom and won much acclaim for Alexander III. On 9 August, 1266 Magnus proclaimed his peace with the Scottish king in a ceremony at Bergen.[4]

Although the Norwegian king had made his peace, this did not mean that the situation was fine as far as the Manxmen were concerned. They were reconciled to the new rule only with difficulty, and in 1275 a Manx expedition was necessary. It seems, however, that the rest of the Islesmen took the situation well. They probably preferred Alexander III to a ruler a fortnight's voyage away.[5] Yet the Scottish king could not be blind to the fact that the people of the Western Isles had long been a law unto themselves. He was determined to keep the peace in the newest portion of his realm; he needed an alliance that would secure any 'wavering fealty of those proud

(2) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 647-8.
(3) Ibid., 655; APS, i, 420-1.
(4) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 656-7.
(5) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 580-3.

and warlike island chiefs, who, whenever they wished to throw off their dependence on Scotland, pretended that they were tied in feudal vassalage to Norway.'[6] Alexander III quite possibly recalled Malcolm Canmore's decision to marry Ingibiorg, widow of Thorfinn, in the eleventh century. Malcolm had therefore ingratiated the Norse population in Caithness and the Western Isles where Thorfinn had ruled.[7] Only shortly after writing to her 'very dear uncle' Edward I to inform him of her health and request knowledge of his condition,[8] Margaret, the Scottish princess who had been born in England, was in the marriage market. Her obvious partner was Eric, Magnus' successor as king of Norway, a boy in his early teens. There is no evidence to prove it, but Alexander III, who lost his second son, David, in June 1281, probably consulted Edward I before drawing up a marriage contract with the young Norwegian king.

The Chronicle of Lanercost almost makes Eric II appear to be a little boy in great expectation of a fantastic prize; the Chronicle also states that Margaret was reluctant to wed a boy whom she considered beneath her dignity:

> 'He (Eric) hearing that the king of Scotland had an unmarried daughter, refined and beautiful and chaste, and also of an age agreeing with his own, since he was a handsome youth of about eighteen years (Eric was actually thirteen), could not rest until, after twice sending as messengers of state, both

(6) Hailes, Annals, i, 63-4.

(7) Maxwell, Early Chronicles, 126.

(8) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 185.

> powerful men and men in religion, he obtained her as his mate in marriage, and his colleague in the kingdom ..... And although the marriage was much against the inclinations of the girl, and of her relations and friends (because she could have been allied much more easily and suitably elsewhere), at the instance of the king her father alone this bond was made, that he should give with her 17,000 marks (the actual amount was 14,000 marks); principally for the marriage contract, but accessorily in order to buy back his right to the islands.'[9]

Admittedly, the Lanercost chronicler is apt to be wrong on many points, as the above passage points out. His disdain of Alexander III seems to be maniacal at times; he is, as Professor Barrow has noted, 'too imbued with a pathological misogyny' to be trusted as an authoritative contemporary chronicler.[10] Fortunately, we have enough public record documentation to correctly fill in the colourful frame he erects. The contract was made at Roxburgh on 25 July, 1281, and the marriage was to be consummated before 8 September of the same year. The contract is a very long and curious document. Alexander III paid 7000 marks in cash and agreed to pay 700 marks annually for ten years. It appears that the cash was disbursed in 1281 and the following year. The 700 marks in annual rents were assigned upon Bathgate and Ratho, both lands which had been given to Margaret, Duchess of Britanny and Countess of Hereford,

(9) Chronicle of Lanercost, 104-5, in Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 679-80.

(10) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 21.

by King William as one hundred librates of land. They descended, at the time of Margaret's marriage to Humphrey de Bohun, to the de Bohun earls. The fief had been resigned to Alexander III, and in 1292 the Scottish treasury contained receipts showing that the Scottish king had paid at least 989 pounds for them. Balhelvy and Rothiemay were also involved in the assignment.[11] On 12 August, 1281, Margaret sailed to Norway in the company of a powerful embassy from Scotland: the earl of Mentieth and his countess, the abbot of Balmerino, and Bernard de Monte-alto.[12] The ship arrived early on the morning of the fifteenth, and Margaret married Eric almost immediately. From a document preserved in the Tower of London, we know that the Scots were shipwrecked off the Scottish coast on the return voyage; two of the Scottish ambassadors were drowned, and the documentation and necessary receipts were recovered from the wreckage.[13] Though no one knew it at the time, the deaths of young David and the two Scottish 'nuncios' were only previews of events yet to come.

The king still had a son of marriageable age. The young Alexander had been born at Jedburgh on 21 January, 1264.[14] We know little of the boy, other than the fact that he must have had a close relationship with his uncle, Edward I. On 29 March, 1279 he wrote to his 'most hearty uncle' to ask favour for Sir Ingram de Umfraville.[15] In 1281 Alexander wrote to Edward I to enquire about the

(11) APS, i, 421-2; dDuncan, Making of the Kingdom, 587-92; Foedera, i, II, 595-6.

(12) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 592.

(13) Ibid., 592; Foedera, i, II, 596.

(14) Chron. Melrose, 190.

(15) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 156.

state of the English royal family,[16] and within a year the English king had pardoned at least two outlaws upon the intercession of the young Scottish prince and heir apparent.[17] The correspondence between Alexander and Edward was cordial and familiar, indicating a special closeness; and it is not impractical to suggest that Edward had a say in choosing a marriage partner for the son of the Scottish king. Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, was an ally of the English king,[18] and he had an available daughter named Marguerite. The marriage negotiations began four months after Margaret of Scotland's marriage to Eric of Norway. The count of Flanders provided 11,000 pounds with his daughter, and Alexander III served notice that the issue of this marriage would be lawful heirs of the kingdom of Scotland.[19] Alexander III promised that if the marriage was completed and Marguerite died, he would repay Guy 5,500 pounds -- half the original 11,000 pounds;[20] Marguerite was guaranteed a dower of 1,500 marks (should Alexander die), and she received also his pledge to take her to wife.[21] The marriage was to be performed at Roxburgh the next autumn. In early August 1282 Guy requested safe-conduct through England for his daughter and her retinue in traveling to Scotland,[22] and Edward I granted it on 11 August, 1282,[23] to last until 1 November.[24] There must have been a delay in the marriage proceedings, for on 11 November Alexander III

(16) Ibid., No. 204.
(17) Ibid., Nos. 193 and 205.
(18) Foedera, i, II, 513-4.
(19) Teulet, Inventaire, 3.
(20) Simpson, Acts of Alexander III, No.135.
(21) Ibid., No. 136.
(22) Foedera, i, II, 613.
(23) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, Nos. 220 and 221.
(24) Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 684.

served notice that although the marriage had not taken place, no prejudice would result to Marguerite or her dowry.[25] Professor Duncan suggests that the delay was due to the fact that Alexander had not yet received the cash from Flanders.[26] Four days later Alexander and Marguerite were married, and at Christmas 1282 Alexander III acknowledged the receipt of a little over 5,000 pounds from Guy.[27] This sum was still less than the original 11,000 pounds, and it implies that perhaps Guy was to pay the balance in installments; on 20 February, 1283 Alexander requested Guy to allow two of the king's merchants to be sent to France on the king's business, to be paid out of the money the count still owed to Alexander.[28]

The marriage of Alexander and Marguerite is interesting for reasons other than the detail of the contract which we are fortunate to have. For the first time in a long time, the king of Scots was involved in a royal marriage with a continental power which was an ally of England. Unlike his father, who had engineered foreign marriage alliances in 1219 and 1239 to assert his independence and gain friends against an English king whom he did not trust, Alexander III was prudently preserving his inheritance by arranging marriage with one of Edward's friends. This marriage was wise and politic; it helped to secure the basically friendly relations between not only the two kings, but also, necessarily, between the two kingdoms. In 1282

(25) Simpson, Acts of Alexander III, No. 141.
(26) Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 592.
(27) Simpson, Acts of Alexander III, No. 142.
(28) Ibid., No. 143.

no one could argue that peace with Edward Plantagenet did not go hand in hand with prosperity for Scotland. The example of Berwick-upon-Tweed has already been cited. Berwick figured in the marriage of the king's daughter. Berwick was to provide a dower for his daughter-in-law if widowed, and Berwick did provide a dower for his own widow.[29] Berwick could provide absolutely nothing if the English king's wrath were incurred -- save a bitter and nasty example for the Scots, as the events of 1296 were to tragically prove. In 1283, then, the Scots were happy and prosperous.

The good times and good feelings did not last long. On 9 April, 1283 Margaret, the wife of Eric II, died, leaving an infant girl also named Margaret. As stated before, a series of tragedies was to befall Scotland in the 1280's; the death of Margaret was only one in the series. The Lord Alexander, 'who from infancy had been of a sickly constitution,'[30] died on 17 January, 1284, leaving no issue. Guy de Dampierre sent an embassy to Scotland in February to collect his daughter Marguerite and bring her to Flanders.[31]

Despite these two severe domestic tragedies, the tone of the parliament which met at Scone on 5 February, 1284 was probably one of apprehension and not panic. Alexander had a granddaughter -- Margaret, the little Maid of Norway. The king himself was forty-three years old and in good health. But the magnates of Scotland assembled at Scone to swear fealty to the infant Maid of Norway and accept her

(29) APS, i, 422-3; Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 604.
(30) Hailes, Annals, i, 64.
(31) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 247.

as her grandfather's heir [32] could not help but feel uneasy about the situation. Their lady was a mere babe, four or five days voyage away via a rough, cold sea. When King Edward wrote to his brother-in-law to express his sympathy for his recent losses, Alexander replied,

> 'we are bound to thank your highness, beyond what is done for other courtesies and acts of benevolence, in that you have regard for our kinship, and we would recall, if you may, to your recollection, that in the providence of God much good may come to pass yet through your kinswoman, the daughter of your niece, the daughter, too, of our beloved, the late queen of Norway, of happy memory, who is now our heir apparent, who .... indissoluble bond created between you and us, as between men who are faithful and constant, should never be broken, as we firmly maintain and believe, except by death.' [33]

Since Edward's letter to Alexander — to which the above is a reply — is lost, we do not know for sure if there was talk in 1284 about marrying the young Margaret to a child of Edward's. But the health of medieval babies was precarious, particularly until they were at least two years old, an age which the damsel of Norway had not yet reached.

(32) Foedera, i, II, 638; APS, i, 424; Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 248.

(33) Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations, No.13; Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 250. Printed here from Stones.

Even then, no one could be sure about her future -- to say nothing of Scotland's future. Now it was absolutely necessary for Alexander III to take a second wife.

Once again, we can assume that Edward I helped the Scottish king look for a bride; besides being a man of the world Edward was becoming as successful a marriage broker as his great-grandfather. In 1285 it was decided that Alexander would marry Yolande of Dreux, the daughter of Robert, fourth Count of Dreux.[34] On 19 August, 1285 Yolande, along with her brother John and their retinue, received safe-conduct from the English king,[35] traveling to Scotland during the autumn. We know nothing of the marriage settlement. Alexander III and Yolande were married at Jedburgh, probably at the feast of St. Calixtus (14 October), 1285.[36] In the ensuing celebration of nuptials, when the music and revelry were at their highest, there was a masque. In the midst of the exhibition was a strange, macabre, flowing figure, a spectre like Death. The spirit, evil and black, glided with fearful gestures amongst the wedding guests, and at length suddenly disappeared. The masque, of course, was intended to be a mummery, but it must also have been terrifying. It was, in effect, a natural foreshadowing of future misfortunes.[37] The birth of Alexander III is noticed in the Chronicle of Lanercost, and a story is told there of a curse laid upon the young prince by an old woman in Edinburgh.[38] The real tragedy arising from the curse of the old woman and the masque at the royal wedding feast was not only

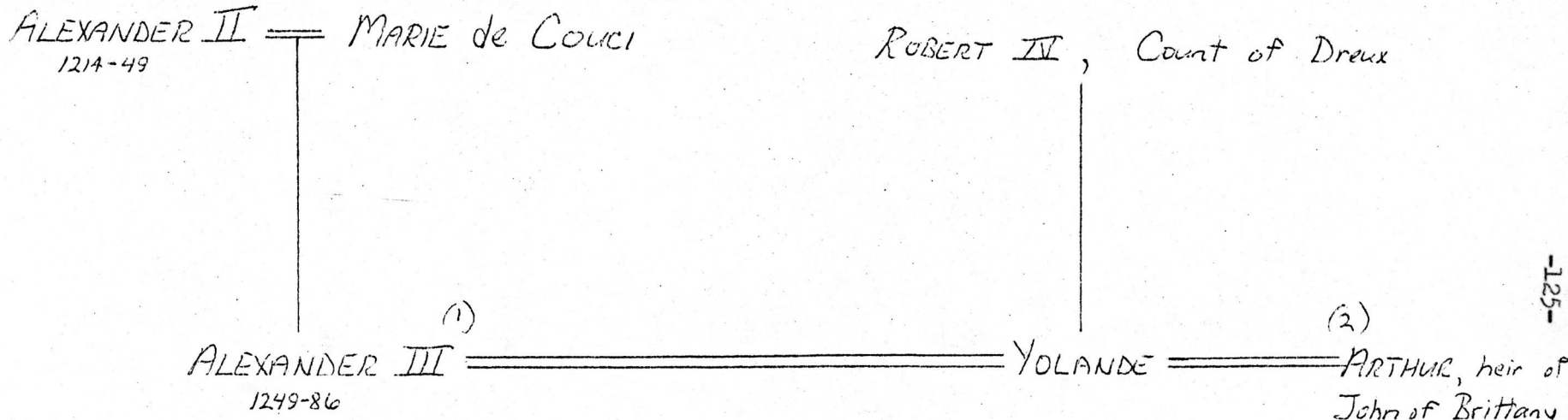
(34) Michel, Les Ecossais in France, 37.

(35) Cal. Docs. Scot., ii, No. 273.

(36) Michel, Les Ecossais in France, 37.

(37) Hailes, Annals, i, 65.

(38) Chronicle of Lanercost, 48-9, in Anderson, Early Sources, ii, 529.



V. THE SECOND MARRIAGE OF ALEXANDER III
AUTUMN, 1285

Alexander's personal tragedy -- as had been the loss of his first wife and all his children. The tragedy foretold by these events was to plunge a kingdom of half a million inhabitants into perplexity.

The king's new marriage never bore fruit. Once again it is interesting to speculate on the course of events in Scotland had Alexander lived and Yolande produced an heir for him. We must, however, deal with facts and avoid conjecture. By 1285 Alexander III had done his best to secure the succession. The Chronicle of Lanercost blames him for the deaths of his children and Scotland's subsequent woes. But in 1285 there was little else he could do . The last king of Queen Margaret's line had shown remarkable prudence and foresight in cultivating Edward Plantagenet's good graces without surrendering one bit of Scottish independence -- as can be seen in the record of the 1278 homage. He had exhibited good sense in marrying himself and his son to Edward's friends. Prudence, good sense, stability -- those were qualities which the Scottish king had never failed to show. That is why the circumstances surrounding his death are all the more puzzling.

Alexander III had ever governed peacefully and faithfully in Scotland, and on 18 March, 1286 he kept council until late afternoon at Edinburgh Castle, debating the matters of a realm which now spread from the Rere Cross to John o' Groats and from the East Neuk to St. Kilda. It was even later before the king and his lords began to sup on a dinner of eels and Bordeaux wine. Outside, wind howled and the rain fell; the cold was biting, and before long a

snow-laden gale blew in from the north with such fury that a man would have been insane to expose himself to it. Alexander III, however, was not to be deterred from a different kind of duty to Scotland this night. Shrugging off the inclement weather, evil omens, and the better judgement of his barons, the king decided to leave that very night for the royal manor at Kinghorn, where his young wife had been left.

Quite possibly, the magnates of Scotland in attendance with the king at Edinburgh were appalled at his plans. The trip from Edinburgh to anywhere in Fife was treacherous enough in the daylight and in fair weather. In a snowstorm at night it was almost pure folly. After the sea ferry there was the rugged road by the Fife coast to negotiate. It is against everything we know of Alexander's prudent nature for him to have set out in such conditions. Why did he do it? Professor Barrow mentions 'an uncomplicated desire for his young wife.' More specifically, an heir was needed; the sooner a healthy son replaced the little Maid of Norway as Scotland's heir, the sooner the kingdom would breathe easier. 'A husband's uxoriousness was also a long-reigning king's duty to his people.'[39]

Ironically, it seems as if everyone except the king was conscious of the risk he was taking. The ferry-master at the Forth urged him to go back to Edinburgh, to no avail. Alexander was rowed across the rough water, and upon approaching Inverkeithing in the dark was severely reproached by the bailie for traveling at night

(39) Barrow, Robert Bruce, 3.

and during such a storm. Brushing off both the rebuke and the bailie's offer of hospitality, the king set off toward Kinghorn with a small escort and two local men as guides. The guides and the king lost their way in the night; the horses, by instinct, sought out the beaten path. Alexander and his guides became separated in the blackness. No one knows exactly what happened next. In the morning a man named Murdoch Schank came in horror on the body of his lord, whose neck was broken.[40] A tall stone pinnacle on a square base between the railway and the highway at the foot of the rocky craigs just east of Burntisland marks the spot where an era of Scottish history ended.[41]

(40) James Wilkie, Bygone Fife, 10.

(41) Yolande of Dreux returned to France, apparently, and in 1294 she married Arthur, the heir of John, Duke of Brittany (Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, 598). Although she appears in no records concerning Scotland after the death of her husband, the Lanercost chronicler relates that she attempted to make the Guardians of Scotland think she was pregnant with a child by Alexander III. As Professor Barrow writes (Robert Bruce, 21), the Lanercost chronicler should not be trusted on such a point.

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